

JFK: The Movie and the Evidence

TIME



**EXCLUSIVE
INTERVIEW**

Gorbachev says
he'll fight on,
but he's already

A Man Without A Country



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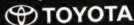
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TIME

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50 / A BRIEF RESURFACING

ILLUSTRATION: GARY W. A.

ART: JEFFREY M. HARRIS

TIME FOR TIME

LETTERS

DAY OF INFAMY

"Pearl Harbor should be thought of as a tragic failure of human and international relations."

Raymond Daum
Bloomington, Minn.



Your 50th Anniversary Special [PEARL HARBOR, Dec. 2]—and, in particular, the story "Day of Infamy"—was so magnificently written that it was like reading a novel. Unfortunately it was true. It is amazing that so many of our military and political leaders were so careless and stupid.

Robert J. Quirk
Sarasota, Fla.

I seem to recall that a historian once observed that America would not reach its full potential as a nation until it overcame its inferiority complex toward Europe and its superiority complex toward Asia. The devastating Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor provided us with a never-to-be-forgotten "wake-up call" and went a long way toward shattering any illusions about the U.S.'s undisputed superiority in that part of the world.

Chet Seymour
Boston

After Pearl Harbor, the entire U.S. was outraged, and we committed all the nation's resources to winning the biggest war in history. But when Japan attacked De-

troit in the 1970s, no one lifted a finger to help. How many people who now blame President Bush for the sagging economy have Japanese cars in their driveways?

Roger Keyes
Hamden, Conn.

If we want to get to the root of our plight, we shouldn't blame the Japanese but look inward and see our own folly. We should re-create the renaissance that made this nation great in the first place. We have to clean up our government, stop corporate greed and start caring for one another. If we do this, we will never need to fear good competition from the Japanese—we will again thrive on it.

James W. Francisco
Citrus Heights, Calif.

In the section on the war in Europe, you wrote about the "methodical extermination of millions in the six Polish death camps." These were not Polish camps but Nazi ones. Millions of Jews, Poles, Russians and many other nationalities were slaughtered in the concentration camps built by German Nazis in locations that suited their theories of preparing "living space." For the benefit of the young, and in memory of those who died, such misleading references should be avoided.

Boguslaw M. Majewski, Press Attaché
Embassy of Poland
Washington

Why was Pearl Harbor such a "day of infamy"? Because the Japanese were not gentlemanly enough to declare war first? At least they attacked military targets. What about Dresden? Vietnam? The gulf war? Or, indeed, Hiroshima?

John Fotheringham
Paris

Japanese brutality in Asia during the years preceding 1941 and the unwarranted attack on Pearl Harbor are acknowledged by every nation but Japan. Should we dwell on it 50 years later? No, but Japan's refusal to accept its role in starting the war and its futile attempt to rewrite history make those tragic years difficult to forget.

Terry Berke
Santa Clara, Calif.

My suspicion that Americans wallow in the past only when it suits them has been confirmed. But you could prove me wrong when you cover the 50th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs invasion in 2011.

Craig Peacock
Osaka, Japan

The Pearl Harbor attack, which stunned the U.S. military, was foreseen in 1925 by one of its own. Colonel Billy Mitchell, who was an aggressive advocate of air power, predicted the eclipse of the battleship by the airplane. Mitchell fore-

saw an air strike on Pearl Harbor, described in detail how it would take place and said it would be made by the Japanese.

Julius Lukasiewicz
Ottawa

Wartime Rights

Your focus on the barbaric treatment of Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II was surprising. We live in an era in which individual rights routinely fall prey to some alleged greater need of society or to some special interest that will benefit from their demise. I find it refreshing to imagine that it is still possible for the U.S. to return to the premise that individual rights are the foundation of our nation, not fodder for the powerful.

Steven I. Givot
Barrington Hills, Ill.

Mysterious Blot

Attentive readers noticed that our photograph of the destroyer U.S.S. *Shaw* exploding during the Pearl Harbor raid had a long finger-like blot obscuring a portion of the picture. They pointed out that another version of this photograph has nothing blackened out and shows the guns of a battleship generally identified as the U.S.S. *Nevada*. Upon checking into things, we learned that Navy censors had inked out a portion of the picture when it was first released for publication, most likely in order to obscure the fact that the battleship *Nevada* had survived the attack. Below is the uncensored photo.



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I N S U R A N C E

CRITICS' VOICES

BY TIME'S REVIEWERS/Compiled by Linda Williams



MOVIES

BLACK ROBE. Sometimes you dance with the wolf; sometimes the wolf eats you. Bruce Beresford's dark drama, about a white priest among some truly savage savages, tops Kevin Costner's Oscar-winning 1990 romance by being anthropologically, if not politically, correct. It embraces ambiguity and is all the more powerful for it.

FOR THE BOYS. The definitive Bette Midler movie—all music, sass and high emoting—is also a jazzy panorama of pop culture for half an American century. And even if you skip the movie, get the sound track, which features Bette's great and knowing pipes on excavated swing tunes like *Billy-a-Dick* and *Stuff Like That There*.

MEETING VENUS. A Hungarian guest conductor (Niels Arcestrup) meets a Swedish diva (Glenn Close) while rehearsing Wagner's *Tannhäuser* with a motley and disputatious band of émigré musicians in Paris. Result: a funny, satirical, romantic and—above all—in-telligent film about backstage intrigues and onstage triumphs.



THEATER

THE SHADOW OF A GUNMAN. Sean O'Casey went on to write better plays and the new Irish troupe that bears his name may go on to better stagings, but both show to advantage in this tragicomedy about the Troubles in Dublin of 1920. The touring show, directed by the playwright's daughter Shivaun, is at Washington's Kennedy Center until Jan. 19.

NICK & NORA. Remember that lovable Asta? Well, the only new American musical of the 1991-92 Broadway season, based on the *Thin Man* movies, is quite a dog itself.

MARVIN'S ROOM. The first generation of AIDS plays dealt with the disease head on and focused on a specifically gay male world. The new wave, like *Prelude to a Kiss* and this off-Broadway knockout by Scott McPherson, respond metaphorically, never mentioning gays or even the disease but instead looking at the universal experiences of illness and dying, family rage and reconciliation. Director David Petrarca

has polished the work through stagings in Chicago and Hartford, and it shines—especially in Laura Esterman's portrayal of a care-giving aunt and Mark Rosenthal's depiction of her turbulent teenage nephew.



TELEVISION

CIRQUE DU SOLEIL II (HBO, Dec. 17, 21). Montreal's fantastical theatrical circus troupe presents an all-new show, spotlighting a bewitching company of aerialists, acrobats, contortionists and clowns.

AMAZING GRACE (PBS, Dec. 20, 9 p.m. on most stations). A welcome rerun of Bill Moyers' glorious documentary on the meaning and legacy of one of the most popular hymns in the English language. Jessye Norman, Judy Collins and the Boys Choir of Harlem are among the singers.

TWO ROOMS: TRIBUTE TO ELTON JOHN & BERNIE TAUPIN (ABC, Dec. 21, 9 p.m. EST). *Rocket Man*, *Bennie and the Jets*, *Crocodile Rock* and lots more John-Taupin hits are performed by Tina Turner, Sting, the Who, Elton himself and a galaxy of other rock stars in this salute to the two-decade career of the hugely successful songwriting team.



MUSIC

MARC COHN: MARC COHN (Atlantic). Nimble songwriting and heartfelt singing in the kind of debut album that harkens back to the halcyon days of James Taylor and Jackson Browne. Taylor, in fact, joins in on one tune, but on tracks like the streamlined *Silver Thunderbird* and *Walking in Memphis*, Cohn shows off a style that's clearly all his own.

SCHOENBERG: GURRE-LIEDER (London). 2 vols. This quasi-oratorio is in many ways a

summation and culmination of Romanticism: a magnificent music-drama about doomed love and transcendence, it echoes Wagner's *Tristan* and foreshadows Mahler's *Eighth*. Riccardo Chailly guides the Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra, a large chorus and superb soloists led by Susan Dunn and Siegfried Jerusalem in this infinitely expressive, dramatically gripping performance.



ART

LOUIS I. KAHN: IN THE REALM OF ARCHITECTURE, Philadelphia Museum of Art. Drawings, scale models and photographs revealing the work of one of the most sublime builders of the 20th century. Through Jan. 5.

THE RADIANCE OF JADE AND THE CRYSTAL CLARITY OF WATER: KOREAN CERAMICS FROM THE ATAKA COLLECTION, The Art Institute of Chicago. Korean artisans might have initially borrowed pottery techniques from the Chinese, but their subsequent creations rivaled those of their giant neighbor and became the envy of Japan, which dispatched military expeditions to raid Korean kilns and enslave its craftsmen. On display are 114 elegant and serenely beautiful objects including vases, ewers, incense burners and porcelain water droppers. Through Feb. 2.



ETCETERA

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS: AMERICAN DECLARATIONS TO 1991, Low Memorial Library, Columbia University, New York. In commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, an exhibition of 70 documents, newspaper articles, broadsides and cartoons dealing with the first of our constitutional amendments. Through Jan. 31.

LOST BOY

Living well may be the best revenge. But a marvelous movie called *Europa, Europa* argues that there are times when living any way at all can serve the same purpose. It is based on the true World War II adventures of an adolescent Jew named Solomon Perel (Marco Hofschneider). His parents send him away from home, hoping that as a free agent living by his wits, he can escape Nazi persecution. Captured first by Russians, then by a company of German soldiers, he becomes an accidental battlefield hero. His reward is a scholarship to an élite Hitler Youth school, where every shower is a threat: circumcision was a death warrant in Hitler's Germany. There is comedy and suspense in his story, shrewdness and innocence in his well-played character, irony and sadness in his situation, which keeps him always isolated in a crowd. Writer-director Agnieszka Holland's energetic film neither sentimentalizes nor solemnizes Solly. It is finally a celebration of individual wit triumphing over mass viciousness and stupidity.



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The Powells Were Rather Impressed With Our Memorial Day Service.

Meet Eugene and Mary Jo Powell of Morgantown, West Virginia. Over last Memorial weekend, they had a rather memorable experience while travelling cross-country. At a Toyota dealer, may we add.

You see, they were taking the scenic route, somewhere around Kingman, Arizona. It was there that the Powells

took their 1991 Toyota Cressida to a Toyota dealer for its regular service. And it was there where they met a technician named "Ray."

Ray gave a meticulous inspection. He changed the oil. Installed a filter. Checked the tires. He even removed bugs from the radiator grill. All in just minutes.

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service, attention and regard that made the Powells feel right at home.

And if you think we work that hard on Memorial weekend, you should see us on Labor Day.

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GRAPEVINE

By SIDNEY URQUHART

AT NASA, HE WHO HESITATED IS OUT

In the wake of the *Challenger* tragedy six years ago, the space agency put a premium on caution—but only up to a point. NASA's top ranks are dominated by gung-ho former astronauts who are determined to keep launches on a tight schedule. An apparent victim of that policy is **FORREST MCCARTNEY**, director of the Kennedy Space Center, who was forced out last month after he twice refused to approve a final "go for launch" because of safety concerns. Both flights went smoothly after the problems were fixed—in one case a hydrogen-fuel leak and in another a warped hinge and latch. William Lenoir, a former astronaut and top NASA official, insisted that McCartney had to go. NASA administrator and former astronaut Richard Truly concurred and offered McCartney a desk job at Washington headquarters. But McCartney has quit, to look for "a job where I can whistle on my way to work," he says, "and whistle when I get back home."

DO SOMETHING? ARE YOU KIDDING? WE JUST LIVE HERE!

The American lawmaker had come to Peru for a firsthand look at that country's drug-interdiction efforts. "Why so much smoke?" asked Congressman **ROBERT TORRICELLI** of New Jersey as his helicopter waited to take off from a military outpost in the Huallaga Valley. "They are burning off the forest to plant more coca," answered the pilot. As the chopper circled over the municipal airport, the legislator noticed frantic activity on the runway. "They are loading cocaine," explained his guide. "Why don't the police and the military do something to stop it?" the Congressman asked his Peruvian hosts when he landed. "It is out of my jurisdiction," said the local army commander. "It is too dangerous," said the police chief. "It is hopeless," concluded the Congressman.

WHEN DO THEY AUCTION CLARK CLIFFORD'S SUITS?

The bones of the **BANK OF CREDIT & COMMERCE INTERNATIONAL** have been picked nearly clean, and much of what's left is likely to go to the liquidators; accountants and lawyers. B.C.C.I.'s "recoverable" assets have dwindled to less than \$1.2 billion, down from \$24 billion in 1990, according to a report filed with the High Court in London. The report lists \$439 million in liquidators' fees to date.

WELCOME TO CUBA, BABY GITMO

The officer was beaming like an expectant father getting ready to pass out cigars. Maybe even Cuban cigars. "In the next 48 hours we will have the first migrant Haitian born in Guantánamo, which we are all kind of looking forward to," announced Brigadier General George H. Walls of the Marines last week. Right on schedule came the new arrival: a baby boy (6 lbs. 8 oz.) born to a 20-year-old Haitian woman. The infant raises a ticklish diplomatic issue: Are the children of Haitian refugees born on the Guantánamo ("Gitmo") Bay Naval Base entitled to U.S. citizenship? Absolutely not, insists the State Department, explaining that the base is on Cuban territory that the U.S. only leases. General Walls has been instructed to refer to the Haitians as "migrants." More than 50 other Haitian women on the base are pregnant.

NOT GUILTY! LET'S PARTY!

All over Washington, politicians have been nervously checking their mailboxes for days. Where were the invitations to one of the liveliest annual parties in town? Is the Senator annoyed with us? How have we offended him? Not to worry. The postmark on the green-bordered, red-lettered card tells the whole story: PM 11 DEC. 1991. When Willie Smith's trial ended late last Wednesday afternoon, fleet-footed Kennedy staffers raced to the post office with preaddressed invites to **UNCLE TEDDY'S** annual Christmas bash.



Too long on the countdown?



Harvesting Peru's top cash crop



Haitian "migrants" at Guantánamo Bay Naval Base



Teddy: the bash is on

FROM THE PUBLISHER

What do British writer Salman Rushdie, American filmmaker Oliver Stone and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev have in common? Only this: all three are central figures in important stories that were in the news last week, and all three gave exclusive interviews to *TIME*, contained in this issue.

In hiding with a multimillion-dollar price on his head, the India-born Rushdie made a surprise appearance at a dinner held by the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism honoring the 200th anniversary of the First Amendment. Beforehand, *TIME* International managing editor Karsten Prager presented Rushdie with an article that appeared last week about the Indian writers he has inspired. Later, in a well-guarded safe house outside Manhattan, the two talked for 1½ hours. "Quite simply," says Prager, "he is still determined to be heard."

Oliver Stone also has a story to tell—about a dismal day in Dallas that changed American history. Last June, *TIME* criticized the plot of Stone's new movie, *JFK*—out this week—which argues that Jack Kennedy was felled in a carefully concealed coup d'état. Stone said our comments were part of an Establishment cover-up (they were not). Finally we got together to discuss his views. "He came armed to the teeth with his research," says correspondent Martha Smilgis. "It still didn't convince me that there was a general conspiracy, but his movie gets you thinking."

Mikhail Gorbachev used his interview with *TIME* to reject speculation that he is on the verge of resigning. On two hours' notice last Friday afternoon, the Soviet leader called Moscow bureau chief John Kohan and editor-at-large Strobe Talbott to his Kremlin office for an 80-minute interview. Also present were his-



TIME International managing editor Prager and author Rushdie

**"Quite simply," says Prager,
"he is still determined
to be heard."**

torian Michael Beschloss, who is co-writing a book with Talbott on the Bush-Gorbachev relationship, and *TIME*'s Felix Rosenthal. "He exuded a sense of complete control," says Kohan, "in what is clearly the most difficult crisis of his political career."

Our goal is to cut through the media clutter and get to the central truths of a story. This week we're proud to bring you the unvarnished words of the chief participants in three fascinating events who chose, as have so many world figures before them, to tell their story through *TIME*.

Elizabeth P. Vaek

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World

TIME, DECEMBER 11, 1991

COVER STORIES

The End Of the U.S.S.R.

Emboldened by their success in seizing independence, the republics have pronounced Mikhail Gorbachev's union dead and patched together a new, loosely knit commonwealth. But do they know how to build something better?

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

Revolutions are messy affairs that may go on for years with climax after climax before a stable new regime is finally established. But along the way they pass distinct turning points at which it becomes clear that the old order is gone beyond any hope of resurrection, and the future's possible shape, however vague and tentative, comes into view. So it was last week in the Soviet Union, late superpower and communist totalitarian state ruled from Moscow.

Since the failed coup in August, the country has been writhing in a last agony that, in the words of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, seemed to drag on "through some sort of sick eternity." Finally Yeltsin and the Presidents of Ukraine and Belorussia—founding republics of the old union in 1922 and still its Slavic core—decided to sign a death certificate: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as a subject of international law and a geopolitical reality, is ceasing its existence."

That announcement, along with the formation of a new, inelegantly named Commonwealth of Independent States, came as a stunning surprise but hardly a shock. The power had long been leaching out of the central authority in the Kremlin, and it was the leaders of the key republics that everyone looked to for salvation. The fear was that they would prove too determinedly nationalistic to come together in any kind of practical alliance. Yet Yeltsin and company came up with a proposal that all the independent republics could embrace—if they wanted.

Through it all, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev fought to hold off the burial of the state he officially ruled. "I'll use all my political and legal authority" to keep playing a major role, he said in an interview with TIME. But his position now seemed largely irrelevant. Whether he resigns in short order, as is widely expected, or continues to sit in his Moscow office a while longer, his political and legal au-

thority is virtually gone, and there is nothing much left for him to preside over.

At the same time, the first blurry outlines of what might replace the old union began to take shape. The new commonwealth formed by the three Slavic republics would supposedly coordinate—but not dictate—the economic, military and foreign policies of its sovereign members. To dramatize the break from the communist—and before that, Russian imperial—past, the Presidents decided that the commonwealth's coordinating bodies, yet to be formed, would be based not in Moscow, the Soviet capital, nor in the czarist capital of St. Petersburg, but in the plain-Jane, utilitarian Belorussian city of Minsk.

After months of a headlong plunge toward dissolution, anarchy and possibly even civil war, the formation of the commonwealth marked the first hopeful step toward a new cohesion. As such, it swiftly began gaining additional members. On Friday Kazakhstan and the four Central Asian republics swallowed their annoyance at not being present at the creation, as well as their fears of becoming economic and cultural poor relations in a Slav-dominated family, and decided to join, provided they



Yeltsin in the not-quite-capital, Minsk

are given the status of co-founders. Their move brought together, however loosely, republics with 90% of the old union's people and all its strategic nuclear weapons. Only the small border republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova were left temporarily outside the new fold, and they too were thinking of coming in.

Which does not by any means ensure that the commonwealth will prevail, or even get itself truly organized. Its founding charter is not much more than a vaguely worded statement of intent. Its members must now actually define the policies they will pursue and form mechanisms to ensure that they really are coordinated. The alliance—it is not really a state—was not even a week old before its first potentially serious fissure appeared. While Yeltsin assured Soviet military leaders that the armed forces would remain under unified

command, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk proclaimed that all army units in his republic—except those controlling nuclear weapons—and the Soviet Black Sea fleet were now to constitute a separate Ukrainian army and navy, of which he would be commander in chief.

Worse still, the commonwealth's efforts to unify economic policy are in a desperate race with the forces of hunger, cold and scarcity. So far, scarcity is winning. Severe shortages of fuel closed half the country's airports and halted domestic flights. Banks were running out of hard currency as citizens struggled with a runaway ruble. Factories called stoppages, services inexplicably ceased. Food was critically short in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Ukraine and Belorussia got Yeltsin to postpone until Jan. 2 a decree freeing many Russian prices, which was supposed to take effect Monday. The delay only touched off a new binge of panic buying; longer lines than ever snaked through Moscow's streets. While the politicians bickered over the shape of the union, citizens in the former Soviet Union were worried about how they would survive the winter.

Some help is on the way. Secretary of State James Baker, taking care not to side with either the dying union or the commonwealth aborning, announced that U.S. Air Force planes will begin flying food into Moscow, St. Petersburg and other hungry cities, using military rationales left over from the Persian Gulf war. He also proposed that all nations interested in sending aid to the old U.S.S.R. hold a conference in early January to coordinate who would put up how much. But a senior British diplomat grumbled that the conference "should have been held three months ago, and now it needs to be held next week. By January it might well be too late." The brutal Russian winter could cause suffering severe enough to trigger political chaos before the session can convene.

The new commonwealth has managed to stave off, at least for the moment, the threat of an outright economic war between the sundering union's republics. That prospect played no small part in pushing the commonwealth's founders together. When Yeltsin, Kravchuk, Belorussian leader Stanislav Shushkevich and some aides gathered at the Belovezhskaya Pushcha dacha, a forest retreat outside the city of Brest, on Saturday, Dec. 7, they appeared to have no intention of declaring the old union dead and founding a new association. But they quickly found they could not come to any other agreement—and agreement was imperative.

Yeltsin had been trying to introduce radical free-market reforms in Russia, but was balked partly because the remnants of the central Soviet ministries kept getting in the way. To remove them, some new form of union had to be invented, but negotiations were stymied by Gorbachev's desire to preserve at least a pared-down central government and the insistence of several

RE-FORMING ITSELF



republics on complete independence. The overwhelming vote for independence in Ukraine on Dec. 1 brought the tug-of-war close to a crisis; both Gorbachev and Yeltsin had said there could be no union at all without Ukraine.

Nor was that the only cause for high anxiety. The imminence of free-market pricing in Russia frightened neighboring republics, which protested that they could not or would not move so fast. If Russia went ahead alone, prices would soar so high that neighbors could not afford to buy the republic's products, including the oil on which they depend. Farms and factories in neighboring republics would sell their products in Russia rather than at home, while masses of Russian shoppers would cross over into other republics to buy at prices lower than in their own stores. Further, Ukraine was planning to introduce its own currency in mid-1992, a move that could have touched off a stampede to all kinds of separate currencies that would have made hash out of any future efforts to revive economic cooperation.

Meeting in Moscow two weeks ago, Gorbachev and Yeltsin agreed that one last effort had to be made to keep Ukraine in some sort of union. To that end, Yeltsin took advantage of an already scheduled trip to Belorussia to sign a trade agreement and

invited Kravchuk to join the discussions at the forest dacha. According to their aides, the three initially tried to revive a Gorbachev idea to form a fairly loose Union of Sovereign States that would still have a central government of sorts. But all day Saturday, says Russian Deputy Prime Minister Gennadi Burbulis, they kept hitting "a dead end." Finally the leaders instructed their foreign ministers to start over from scratch and draft something new. Working separately through the night, the ministers produced three texts that proved to be so similar that the leaders had no trouble next morning melding them into one document.

In a separate agreement, the republics pledged to implement coordinated radical economic reforms ensuring free enterprise and to stick with the ruble as a common currency for the time being; national currencies might be allowed later, but only "on the

basis of special agreements." Less formally, they decided to move together toward free prices on Jan. 2 and to introduce a value-added tax and take other steps to hold down the budget deficits that are fueling runaway inflation. Details on how to achieve these worthy aims are to be filled in later. But at least the agreement promises to halt the slide toward economic war.

Unspecific though it is, the economic agreement is a model of concreteness next to the 14 articles of the overall pact. In only a few places does that document even approach specificity. It states that the founders are "striving to liquidate all nuclear armaments under strict international control" and pledges the republics to respect one another's territorial integrity and to guarantee their citizens equal rights and freedoms. Bland as these provisions appear to be, they are significant in light of a major threat raised by a breakup of the U.S.S.R.: the menace of interrepublican hostility, or even war, over the status of ethnic minorities.



Waiting in line as the snow falls in Moscow: while the politicians fiddle, the people go hungry

Otherwise the founding agreement pledges the commonwealth republics to a vague concept of cooperation in many areas of government, from education to foreign policy. But what are these common policies to be? Who is to see that they really are coordinated? How? The document says only that "the parties consider it necessary to conclude agreements on cooperation in the above-mentioned spheres."

The signers counter that they were not preparing a document for the ages, only patching together something to arrest the momentum toward anarchy and begin a process of reintegration. Arguments about details would have been fatal to that endeavor. They are probably right, but the document nonetheless is rife with opportunities for bitter disagreement.

On their determination to kill off the Soviet Union as a unitary state, however, the signers were completely clear. Gorbachev was understandably insulted because Yeltsin phoned the White House to tell President Bush about the agreement before Shushkevich dialed Moscow to inform the Soviet President. Whether the snub was deliberate or an oversight, it conveyed the same message: the signers considered the Soviet President irrelevant, if not an obstacle, to their new union.

Gorbachev fought desperately to hang on. He called the agreement unconstitutional and warned of anarchy, potential civil wars and fascist takeovers if the union fell apart. Founders of the commonwealth agreed that those were real dangers, but described their association as a "last

chance" to avert them. Gorbachev tried to convene the Congress of People's Deputies, the national legislature, to work out some kind of compromise between the new commonwealth and his Union of Sovereign States, but was blocked when legislators from the commonwealth republics refused to attend. The Soviet President huddled with army commanders to appeal for military support a day before Yeltsin made a comparable pitch to a similar group of officers. Some generals interviewed on British television found Yeltsin more impressive, and subordinate officers voiced Russian variations of the Western proverb that he who pays the piper calls the tune. That can only mean Yeltsin: the Gorbachev government is flat broke and has only those funds that Yeltsin's Russian Federation doles out to it.

Another leader who was peeved by what he regarded as cavalier treatment by the commonwealth founders was Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan. When the agreement was signed he was in the air, en route to Moscow for a scheduled meeting with Gorbachev and the three Slavic presidents that never came off. Yeltsin phoned him at Vnukovo airport shortly after his plane landed to tell him about the agreement. Nazarbayev darkly suspected that the Slavic leaders were aiming at a "medieval" division of the union along religious-ethnic-cultural lines and talked for awhile of siding with Gorbachev to keep a central

government alive. His defection from the commonwealth would have been a serious blow, since among other things it would have prevented any unified or even joint command over nuclear weapons; many of the biggest multiwarhead intercontinental Soviet missiles are based in Kazakhstan.

By week's end, however, Nazarbayev decided to cut himself in and brought the other Central Asian republics with him. Western Sovietologists speculated that he had little choice: if Kazakhstan did not join the commonwealth, it might have split in two. Kazakhs are actually a minority among its 16 million citizens; about 40% are ethnic Russians, who might have seceded rather than risk being submerged in an independent Muslim state. The other Central Asian republics simply could not survive economically on their own. They could, however, have formed a federation that would look toward

alliances with such states as Turkey and Iran, and perhaps even have induced some Tatars, Bashkirs and other Islamic ethnic groups in southern Russia to secede and join them in a sort of Greater Turkestan. By inducing the Central Asians to join the commonwealth instead, the Slavic leaders passed a hard test of whether they could lead toward cohesion and stability rather than divisiveness and chaos.

Another test was acceptance by foreign governments, and the commonwealth was doing well on that score too. There was still a great deal of apocalyptic talk from analysts like CIA director Robert Gates, who warned that the former Soviet Union faced the greatest potential for explosive civic turmoil since the Bolsheviks consolidated their power roughly 70 years ago. But as the week wore on, the U.S. and its friends were beginning to face up to life without Gorbachev or a Soviet central government and to conclude that it might not be so awful after all.

In fact, the Western powers seemed informally to be coming together on a common approach. Its main elements: 1) they will, properly, leave the shape of a future union—or commonwealth or whatever—to be decided by the Soviet people and their leaders; 2) they will insist that whatever governments arise on the territory of the old union respect human rights and abide by all the U.S.S.R.'s treaty obligations, including commitments to reduce both nuclear and conventional arms; 3) they will strongly urge the successor states to preserve a unified command over nuclear weapons and offer money and technical as-

sistance to dismantle any and all warheads that the republics want to destroy—Secretary of State Baker set out over the weekend on a five-day, five-city swing through the former U.S.S.R. for exactly that purpose: 4) they will speed up and coordinate aid to any republics that meet these criteria. As Baker put it, "We will continue to work with reformers wherever we find them."

Though this approach is fundamentally realistic, there are problems and ambiguities in it. The commonwealth, if it establishes itself as a going concern, is likely to include both fledgling democracies like

Russia and Ukraine and unreformed authoritarian regimes like Uzbekistan. Baker specifically mentioned the southern republic of Georgia as one that would not qualify for American aid because its government is authoritarian. But can Washington maintain such a stance if Georgia is accepted into a commonwealth where most or all of the other members are getting Western aid?

At this point probably only some loose association like the proposed commonwealth, without any true central government, can bring the republics together at all. But the difficulties of making it work

are immense. Of all people, Joseph Stalin gave the most eerily prophetic description. When the Soviet Union was founded on Dec. 30, 1922, he enumerated the conditions attending its birth: "devastated fields, factories at standstill, destroyed productive powers and exhausted economic resources render insufficient the separate efforts of separate republics in economic reconstruction." The union is now dying of exactly the same ills, and its heirs have yet to prove that they know how to build something better.

—Reported by James Carney/Moscow, William Macder/London and J.F.O. McAllister/Washington

YELTSIN'S KEY PARTNERS

As Ukraine's top ideological watchdog in the 1980s, Leonid Kravchuk was responsible for stamping out all traces of nationalism. But two weeks ago, after deftly shedding his party past, Kravchuk, 57, rode a wave of nationalist sentiment to election as President of an independent Ukraine, the most powerful of the republics after Russia. Then he went one step further, joining Russia and Belorussia with a plan to form a loosely knit commonwealth.

The move marked the culmination of a stunning political metamorphosis. After August's aborted coup, Kravchuk, then chairman of the Ukrainian parliament, straddled the fence, neither endorsing nor categorically condemning the coup leaders until failure was no longer in doubt. In quick succession, he resigned from the Communist Party and unmoored himself the main champion of statehood. His 11th-hour conversion coincided with the political awakening of a majority of the republic's 53 million citizens.

Born to peasants in western Ukraine, he earned the equivalent of a master's degree in political economy at Kiev University, then embarked on a career as a party apparatchik, rising to head the propaganda department of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Authoritarian by nature, he has the acumen necessary to secure a powerful position alongside Yeltsin. To those who question his sincerity, Kravchuk responds, "A man cannot keep the same views all his life." All people undergo changes, he argues. His just happened to come all at once.



Kravchuk
Ukraine

Stanislav who? Even Sovietologists had to scramble last week to gather information about Stanislav Shushkevich, the distant third member of the commonwealth trioka.

Although he is a burly man, he seemed to shrink a bit last week as he posed for pictures beside his charismatic commonwealth partners. While the more publicity-wise Yeltsin and Kravchuk stared straight ahead, Shushkevich, 57, bowed his head, his hands clasped humbly in front of him. Technically he and the other two are equals, but there seems little doubt that he will exercise the least influence.

Of the three, only Shushkevich was not a professional party apparatchik. The son of a poet, he won a doctorate in physics and math, then served as deputy rector for science at Lenin State University in Minsk. He was long a party member, but did not turn to politics until after the 1986 Chernobyl disaster, when he joined a campaign to expose official attempts to cover up the damage. His reputation as an outspoken critic earned him a seat in 1990 in the Belorussian supreme soviet, where he was elected chairman last September.

Shushkevich did not leave the party until after the August coup attempt, and he has steered clear of identification with any faction. He has also repeatedly stressed that his republic is unlikely to lead the charge for radical economic or political change. With Belorussia's independence just four months old, Shushkevich's primary concern seems to be to thwart backsliding, while not winding up isolated.



Shushkevich
Belorussia

Only one man could bring the four predominantly Muslim republics of Central Asia into the commonwealth: Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev. But he is not likely to be bought easily. Irritated that he had not been consulted by the three Slavic republics, he initially sided with Mikhail Gorbachev, arguing that the President "has not yet exhausted his possibilities." By week's end he agreed to join the commonwealth—provided that Kazakhstan would be recognized as a co-founder.

As head of the sole Central Asian republic outfitted with nuclear weapons, only Nazarbayev can quell Western qualms about a divided weapons arsenal. And only Nazarbayev can lay to rest Muslim fears of Slavic dominance. Short, stocky and sophisticated, Nazarbayev, 51, came to international prominence during the August coup when he steered a level-headed course between renouncing the reactionaries and warning Yeltsin against politically explosive attempts to rearrange borders. He was tapped after the coup to introduce the notion of a state council comprising Gorbachev and the republic leaders.

Born into a family of mountain shepherds, Nazarbayev joined the Communist Party at 22 and went on to become an engineer. He eventually landed a Central Committee post as secretary for industry. In 1989 he was named his republic's party leader, and quit only after the coup attempt. While his political instincts remain cautious, his economic boldness may convince Westerners that he is a man with whom they can do business.



Nazarbayev
Kazakhstan



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"I Want to Stay the Course"

In an exclusive interview, a determined Gorbachev shows he is not ready to disappear gently into the pages of history

By JOHN KOHAN and STROBE TALBOTT MOSCOW

It was a stunning transformation. The Mikhail Gorbachev who had appeared on Soviet television Thursday evening was a defeated man—exhausted, disgusted, frustrated, fed up, ready to quit. Even the commentator on the relatively pro-Gorbachev state TV network described the performance as having the look and feel of a "farewell interview."

But the next afternoon it was a different man who received *TIME* for the magazine's third interview in five years. Gorbachev had clearly decided to use the session to counteract the widespread impression that his presidency was mortally wounded by what several of his advisers had earlier in the week called the "second coup."

Far from throwing in the towel, Gorbachev came out fighting, lambasting the leaders of Russia, Belorussia and Ukraine for their declaration of a "commonwealth" to replace the U.S.S.R. Yet in classic fashion Gorbachev managed to combine conciliation with combativeness.

Essentially he reiterated the case against the commonwealth—then offered to help bring it about. Gorbachev still saw himself as the indispensable man, the only figure on the political stage who can avert civil war, who can keep the army under control, who can bring Slavs and Muslims together, who can prevent the hungry, angry, impatient populace from pouring into the streets and providing a pretext for another rightist coup.

There were, as a good Marxist might say, contradictions in Gorbachev's claim to leadership of a cause that represents a repudiation of him personally, a cause he continues to denigrate

as not in the country's best interests. But the performance was nothing less than a tour de force. He was at his most formidable steamrolling over the gaps and rough spots in the logic of his own position.

The *TIME* group arrived at the Kremlin's old Council of Ministers building just as the sun was setting at 3 p.m. The white-blue-and-red Russian flag was flying over the building next door, a colorful reminder of how Russian President Boris Yeltsin's political power is impinging on Gorbachev's, including the takeover of several properties.

The Soviet leader held forth in the same cavernous office, with its blond parquet floors and off-white damask walls with teakwood trim and wainscoting, where the previous *TIME* interview took place, in May 1990. There was barely a trace of the bags that had been so apparent under his eyes on TV the night before. He looked rested, smiled frequently, radiated energy, frequently karate-chopped the air or formed a fist to make a point, hooked his right thumb into his chest when referring to himself and several times rattled the china coffee cups in his vehemence. At one point, when describing how "the country is worried," he thrust his hands in the air like the victim of a stipup.

While Gorbachev commented at one point that he spends more time asking questions these days than answering them, this is someone who enjoys talking much more than listening. Once again, he was the world champion of eye contact.

At the end of the 80-minute session, his guests said they had come expecting that they might witness the last interview he granted as President. Gorbachev laughed heartily at the seeming absurdity of such an idea.

Q. Our magazine comes out on Monday. Will you still be the President of the Soviet Union then?

A. On Monday? I'm sure I will.

The process now under way is getting us back on the track of creating a new union. We were moving along that track until the referendum in Ukraine created a new situation. I had argued that Ukraine, on the basis of its sovereignty, could find its own place in a new union. The leadership there had signed an economic-cooperation agreement. That was the right thing to do. [President Leonid] Kravchuk had also said several times that nuclear weapons should be under rigid control and a single command. Of course, all republics on whose territory nuclear weapons are located should have some say in how that control is implemented, but no one has challenged the idea that there should be a single authority. Those are two very important points, and they make it possible for us still to have some sort of political union.

I've worried all along that it would be dangerous for Ukraine to end up outside the process. My concern was that the Rus-

sian leadership would use what the Ukrainians were doing as a pretext [to thwart Gorbachev's plan for a new union].

The decision to separate [the Slavic republics from the union] was unconvincing, ill founded, badly formulated. I'm all in favor of profound reform and the redistribution of authority, but [the Slavic leaders] decided on separation, and that's a huge mistake. If we start tearing this country apart, it will just be more difficult for us to come to terms with one another. They think they have speeded up the process, but in reality we're in danger of getting bogged down in all sorts of wrangles.

My point is that while we've got to redistribute authority, there are dangers. It's important that we not wander off the best political course.

Q. You seem much more determined to continue in office than you did on television Thursday when you used the word resignation repeatedly.

A. If other republics come to a common understanding that they want to form a commonwealth, then I—as someone dedi-

cated to the principles of democracy and constitutional rule, and because of my convictions and my role as President—will have to respect that choice.

But I want a stage-by-stage, step-by-step process that will not stimulate disintegration and chaos. That doesn't mean I've changed my position. I've given this a lot of thought and analyzed my own position quite critically. Perhaps I've overlooked something. I'm capable of self-analysis. I've always been that way. But so far I haven't heard any arguments that make me want to change my position. The political process should continue without interference and within the framework of the constitution.

It's critical that we not lose control of the situation. Therefore, I'll use my powers as President, first of all as commander in chief of the armed forces. That is why [Russian President Boris] Yeltsin and I have each met with the leaders of the armed forces. I told them that during this period of transition the army can be sure we'll deal with all these questions—the creation of a new defense union, the control

"They have no right to declare the Soviet Union nonexistent."

of strategic forces, and what to do about national armies. The armed forces should be assured that they'll be taken care of, that they constitute an important institution of the state and that they can't be the object of political manipulation.

Q. Do you still believe it's possible to save the Soviet Union as such?

A. I wish that were possible, but I have my doubts. I don't think the commonwealth is more promising than the proposed union treaty.

Look here. [He pulls a three-page

But the more immediate question is this: Kravchuk has named himself commander-in-chief of the armed forces deployed in the [Ukrainian] republic. However, he left out strategic [nuclear] forces. I put in a call to him on my secret line and said, "Do you know what you're doing? You're undermining the whole process."

Kravchuk told me, "I assure you, nothing will change with regard to strategic forces." I told him, "You should announce publicly that until a new defense treaty is signed, there will be no hasty decisions regarding the armed forces, and that the mil-

itary you're setting up," I said. "Both politically and legally, it's just a concept, a sketch, inviting all sorts of doubts and questions."

Nonetheless, I tried to make it clear to my comrades from the outset that there were some positive aspects to the Minsk agreement. If you compare the economic part of the union treaty with the agreement, you'll see they're identical.

At the same time, I thought I should also point out the negatives. Those three republics have no right to declare the Soviet Union nonexistent. What do they mean, there's no such country as the U.S.S.R.,



A characteristic mix of combativeness and conciliation: Gorbachev makes his case to Falin and Kravchuk

typed document from a pink folder with a red tag saying URGENT.] It's a report on the supreme soviet of Ukraine discussing the Minsk agreement; they ratified it without discussion, then added several amendments attaching conditions to the guarantees in the original document about open borders, freedom of movement and free exchange of information. So you see what's starting to happen already?

Q. Can you guarantee that during this period of transition you will keep control over the nuclear button?

A. Absolutely, absolutely. Everything will remain as it has always been. Any alarming speculation, here or abroad, about who will have his finger on the button is groundless.

Q. But what about the notion, raised in Brest, of joint command?

A. We'll deal with that in due course. I can guarantee that everything will turn out all right. I talked with Yeltsin today, and he said to me, "Mikhail Sergeyevich, as far as I am concerned, there will be no actions on my part that will lead to confusion in the armed forces."

itary will stay under a single command and under my control. Don't go introducing uncertainty into these matters! The whole world is watching. Don't confuse people!"

Kravchuk and I agreed that everything will be decided mutually and in stages. I've just sent Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov to Kiev to work out procedures for the transition. In fact, nothing has changed so far as the armed forces are concerned. You Americans have nothing to worry about.

Q. We've heard many terms: union, confederation, commonwealth. You talk about a "soft" union. What do you mean?

A. You may have noticed that these days I'm more often asking my colleagues questions than I am providing my own answers. It is a touchy situation. I don't want to appear to be imposing anything on them. There's this false impression around that Gorbachev is trying to revive the old center and the old structures. But in fact those things don't exist anymore.

I had some questions for Yeltsin when he came to see me on Monday. "It's not clear to me what kind of commonwealth

not even as an object of international law? If there are no laws governing the union as a whole, then who controls the army? The borders of our state have also been established by union law. The same with our territorial waters and airspace, not to mention our relations with foreign countries.

What kind of democrats are these? How can they even call themselves democrats? What about our shared commitment to develop a state governed by law? I said all this to them, and it sobered them up a bit.

They tell me that back in '37, a troika [a three-man kangaroo court common during the purges of the Stalinist terror] could decide a person's fate. And now a troika is deciding the fate of entire nations!

Q. The authors of the Minsk agreement have interpreted some statements from Washington as support for their position. What is your view?

A. President Bush and Secretary of State Baker are the two most important people for me on the American side. On the whole, I have always considered their policy to be constructive and supportive. They

"I want to make it a half-mistake rather than a full mistake."

consider the process taking place in this country as our internal affair.

But the U.S. took some steps recently, particularly on the eve of the referendum in Ukraine, that, I must say, were not well thought out. They were regarded by some here as attempts to stimulate separatism in Ukraine. I told the President this when we talked on the telephone.

I wish that all our partners would adopt a balanced, patient approach in their relations with us, especially now. Mr. Baker was overly hasty in saying, "The Soviet Union no longer exists." Things are in flux here. While we're still trying to figure things out, the U.S. seems to know every-

reputation for doing things in secret and sidestepping the constitutional bodies of the country. If that happens, the rest of the world is going to wonder what kind of people it is dealing with. You'll be nothing but a bunch of bandit reformers. Who will respect you if you can't respect your own constitution?"

Q. What if they all just ignore you?

A. They pay attention. In fact, we've been talking for days. I can't let myself worry about being insulted. We're trying to meet each other halfway. We've got to really think this through and not improvise. I'll use all my political and legal authority to

economy is collapsing. An amorphous commonwealth won't bring about the kind of cooperation we need, which is why I think it's a mistaken concept. But I want to make it a half-mistake rather than a full mistake.

Q. What is your relationship with Yeltsin really like?

A. We've parted company over basic concepts. I'm for the preservation of the union as a country. I'm against what I've described as the pie being sliced up and served with tea. [Gorbachev doodles on a pad; what emerges is a picture of a pie with crisscross lines through it.] Who has the right to cut this country into pieces?

If the process leads to the establishment of a commonwealth, I'll accept it as a reality. Even though I don't share their concept of what's required, I wish them success. But I don't want this question to be decided on the streets, and I'll use my authority to see to it that the process goes forward normally and constitutionally.

At the same time, I am still firmly convinced we are making a mistake. I'd rather be proved triply wrong. But I want to stay the course. If the process gets out of hand, then I'll have buried everything to which I've devoted the best years of my life.

Q. Last night you were obviously furious with Yeltsin.

A. Look at the way Yeltsin behaved. We handled the



thing already! I don't think that's loyalty, particularly toward those of us who favor partnership and full-fledged cooperation. It is in our common interest that this process should end successfully without any surprises.

Q. You still enjoy popularity and prestige abroad. Does this help in your talks with leaders of the republics?

A. We deal with each other as partners, not like gladiators stepping into the arena. I am even tempered and have a reserve of constructive ideas, which is by no means exhausted.

Yesterday I sent a message to the parliaments of Russia and Belorussia informing them they had made a mistake in deciding to recall their deputies from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. I said, "If you continue to act like that, you'll get a

enrich this process—even though it's a process I don't recognize.

By interacting with my colleagues, I'll try to let them know what my position is and help them to come together and reach agreements. But I don't want to be like the guest of honor at a banquet. I don't see that as my role. What I want to do is participate in formulating the framework of the commonwealth and giving it substance.

The ideas in the union treaty and the commonwealth agreement are coming together. Many parts of the union treaty will be used; the big difference is that this will be a commonwealth of states and not a single state.

I thought, and still think, that a softer union, with some of the institutions I was proposing, would be a better way. But unfortunately we've already shattered the links among the republics, and the national

whole union-treaty process together, sent it to the republics and suddenly Yeltsin comes up with a different approach in Brest. I cannot accept this. He didn't even call me. I found out that he had talked with George Bush and not to me. There was no need to draw Bush into this. It's a question of Yeltsin's moral standards. I cannot approve or justify this style of behavior. It's inadmissible.

Q. Then what basis do you have for a partnership with Yeltsin?

A. There are higher interests that should unite us. Gorbachev and Yeltsin simply cannot get away from that.

Q. Does Yeltsin agree about these higher interests?

A. Unquestionably. On a human level there are no obstacles in the way of having

"The U.S. took some steps . . . that were not well thought out."

a dialogue with him. We have drifted apart on this conceptual question of a commonwealth.

Who knows? Maybe I am wrong. But I am firmly convinced that I am right. That shouldn't stop us from cooperating, as far as I am concerned. I hope he feels the same way.

Q. How can the West help the process of reform?

A. We need your help now. Immediately. Stop hesitating or we will all have to pay a greater price in the end. You should promote reform in the commonwealth and, first of all, in Russia. They need urgent help in the form of hard currency to provide consumer goods for the market and speed up the move toward a convertible ruble. They want to move faster, but they cannot do so without a stabilizing fund of several billion dollars. If you have given aid to Poland and Hungary, Russia certainly deserves it.

Q. Can help from the West really change the situation of people waiting out there in lines?

A. You are right. This is the result of the enormous mass of money in circulation and an imbalance between supply and demand. Those who have money can afford to buy expensive sausage. Those who don't must wait in line for goods sold at state-controlled prices. But prices will have to be fixed for certain goods, so that poorer people can afford them.

Q. Won't the republics' bureaucracies simply take the place of the old union bureaucracy?

A. The republics were fervent fighters, wanting to destroy the center and take over its functions. But as soon as they succeeded, the reform process abruptly stopped.

Q. Is there a danger of another coup?

A. It is our responsibility to see that this doesn't happen. I think a military coup is out of the question. Neither I nor Yeltsin nor the democrats would resort to this. It is just not acceptable.

But there may have to be firmness and tough enforcement of law and discipline. A strengthening of executive power—not a dictatorship—is necessary during this transitional period. The conservatives and reactionaries, after their defeat, are gathering strength and hoping to take advantage of the country's difficulties. There is a lot of discontent, which can be channeled in a certain direction. But they will be unable to get the army to rise up in a putsch.

If we have achieved anything both inside this country and in the world at large, it was only when we used political means. That is not to rule out emergency measures in emergency situations, particularly when there is a threat to the security of the country. Where might the biggest threat come from? If the market situation deteriorates even further, if factories are shut down, then it will lead to further decline and will force people out into the streets with political demands.

However, whenever people take to the streets, immediately all kinds of political manipulators and adventurists will take advantage of the situation for their own ends.



Our most pressing task is to prevent this, no matter what party anyone belongs to. That's why we should direct aid to those areas where the tension is greatest: Moscow, Leningrad and the Urals.

Q. Can you name those who might take advantage of the situation?

A. I think they are from the old structures where conservative elements were concentrated. They were at various levels of the party apparatus, in the administrative bureaucracy and in the military-industrial complex.

Q. What about the KGB?

A. I wouldn't worry about them. The intelligence service has been split [into foreign and domestic branches] so that it operates as a normal agency in any civilized state. The border guards have been taken out of

the structure. So have communication facilities. KGB chief Vadim Bakatin heads the counterintelligence service, but its functions are entirely different now. Perhaps there are individuals there who could cause trouble, but not the organization as such.

Q. President Bush does not want to have to choose between Gorbachev and Yeltsin. How can he avoid this?

A. I think he should make his position very clear. Life has brought to the forefront a new generation of politicians. There is a danger that at a crucial time of change, when our—and your—destinies are being decided, some politicians are just entering the world of big-time politics. I have encouraged them to travel abroad. I wanted our partners to size up these new politicians. Maybe they did not see this as a tactical move by Gorbachev. They thought that since Gorbachev was sending them around, it meant he, himself, was finished and they should now deal with them—and they made a wrong choice.

These new politicians will have to shoulder responsibilities, but they need seasoning. They may find it difficult to work with Gorbachev, who has already been through a great deal and has been tested and steered by experience. Many of these new politicians are still populists. They have not shown themselves to be creative people. They need to prove themselves. They have to learn to adapt to things, rather than throw tantrums.

What are personal ambitions worth, if they interfere and slow down your chosen course? They're now accusing Gorbachev of slowing down, of applying the brakes to the creation of this new association of states. But I'm going to stay the course. Despite my ability to be flexible, I'm not going to give up my principles. There's a line I will not cross. I'm not going to swing back and forth like a pendulum.

Q. We came in here today thinking this might be the last interview with Gorbachev as President, but from the way you talk, it doesn't sound like that.

A. As far as my work is concerned, the main purpose of my life has already been fulfilled. I feel at peace with myself. I've lived through such experiences that I feel absolutely free. At the same time, I feel that the capital I've accumulated should be fully used for the freedom of my country and international relations. And I feel strong enough to go on.

Despair in the Barracks

The Soviet military is beginning to fall apart—even if the new commonwealth wants to keep it unified

By MICHAEL S. SERRILL

As the Soviet Union disintegrated, the military seemed to be about the only central institution that might survive relatively intact. The very picture of unity, order and discipline, it was the force everyone courted to approve—or wreck—plans for the new commonwealth.

But the military's solidity is illusory. Ever dependent on Moscow-center to feed an enormous appetite for men and matériel, the armed forces find they cannot sustain themselves. They have struggled

Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson Center. "Cohesion is so destroyed that they couldn't mount a coup even if some officers wanted to."

Though traditionally loath to involve themselves in politics, military personnel are angrily demanding more respect. "The army is fed up with uncertainty, with humiliation. It wants its dignity restored," says Russian Information Minister Mikhail Poltoranin.

One dangerous potential source of conflict among soldiers arises from the insistence by the republics on fielding their

The Fourth Army remains billeted in Azerbaijan, its unhappy assignment to prevent bloodshed between militant Azerbaijanis and Armenians—two peoples who are no longer under the aegis of Moscow.

Living conditions for the troops are grim. Officers stationed in the Ukrainian town of Vitebsk have set up housekeeping in a stable. Soldiers in what was then called the Leningrad Military District built pigsties and planted vegetable gardens last spring so they would be assured of having food this winter. Barracks across the country have run out of new clothing, as well as medical supplies, parachutes and gasoline.

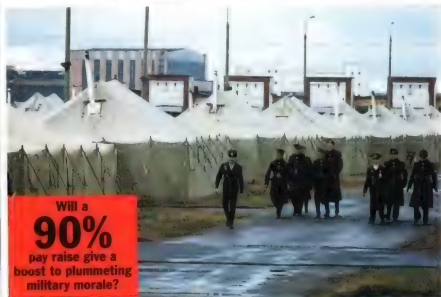
More than 10,000 officers' families in Moscow lack homes of their own; one group of these uniformed homeless confronted the Moscow city council last February to demand living quarters. Access for officers to special stores, travel abroad and choice apartments has disappeared. Wages are being battered at every level by inflation. A Soviet conscript earns seven rubles a month, while a kilo of sausages costs 87 rubles. "What do you expect of the army if a colonel—a colonel!—is paid less than a bus driver?" asks an officer bitterly.

Thousands of soldiers mustered out of the army are unable to find jobs or housing. Plans to cut the military by 700,000 will add even more people to the list. "Living space—that's the question that gives me no peace, day or night," Defense Minister Yevgeni Shaposhnikov said last month in a newspaper interview.

Many analysts see a real possibility that this large group of disgruntled troops could form the backbone of a popular backlash. Viktor Minin, the head of the Soviet parliament's commission on national security, told *Krasnaya Zvezda*, the military newspaper, that 150,000 recently discharged officers and soldiers, "highly organized and politicized," might lead "a social explosion that could sweep away democracy and the free market." One sign of rebellion has already appeared: military personnel are refusing to leave regions such as the Baltics, where they are comfortably fed and housed.

Once the proud guardian of the revolution and the protector of the sacred motherland against Nazi invasion, the military finds itself in dire straits, with nowhere to go for help. It "has turned into some kind of 16th republic—hungry, badly organized, badly armed and supplied," says Minin. And like the other ailing republics, this one will need some careful political nurturing lest some of its members split away and become renegades.

—Reported by
James Carney/Moscow and Sally B. Donnelly/Los Angeles



Sheltered in tents: returning soldiers must cope with a lower standard of living and an uncertain future

through five years of political disparagement and military failure, and they have watched their privileges and perks dwindle away. Now "the collapse is finally happening," says Dr. Patrick Parker, an analyst at the Naval Postgraduate School in California. "The economic destruction of the Soviet Union is having a massive effect."

Conscription has broken down in some areas, and the desertion rate is rising. Pay is so meager that soldiers have resorted to selling military equipment on the black market. Fuel shortages are so dire that many ships and submarines have been forced to return to their home ports. Planes, ships and tanks are being cannibalized for spare parts. Thousands of demobilized troops from Eastern Europe are stranded without adequate housing and benefits in shabby tent cities. Morale is at a nadir. "The military is absolutely shell-shocked," says Dale Herspring of the

own armies. According to a source who attended the meeting last week between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and top Soviet generals, the military leaders agreed to allow the republics to create land units, while the navy, air force and all nuclear units would remain under unified commonwealth command. But whether the old army, which includes many conscripts, will be splintered by nationalism is still an urgent question.

There are 3.7 million Soviet soldiers, sailors and air force personnel, down from 5 million, but still the largest military force in the world. Although some units have been pulled back into Russia as the Soviet empire has shrunk, many remain virtually marooned in far-flung outposts defending a U.S.S.R. that no longer exists: 260,000 Soviet troops in eastern Germany, 45,000 in Poland, 120,000 in the independent Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia,

Will a
90%
pay raise give a
boost to plummeting
military morale?

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Blueprint for the Dream

In a historic compromise, the Twelve—despite Britain's caution—reinforce their economic and political ties as they chart the E.C. course for the rest of the century

By JILL SMOLOWE

In the end there was something for everybody. Britain could claim that it was still master of its monetary and labor policies. France could point to a firm timetable for establishing a single currency for the European Community's other 11 members. Germany, among the most Euro-minded of the Community states, could hail the birth of a "European union." And the most impoverished brethren in the group—Greece, Ireland, Spain and Portugal—had won the promise of money transfers from the rich states to the poor.

The summit in the medieval Dutch town of Maastricht last week, aimed at forging deeper economic and political integration within the European Community, was a qualified success. After two days of heated wrangling, the 12 heads of state and government produced an agreement that took a giant step toward monetary unity, a half step toward strengthening a separate European defense organization, and a baby step toward framing a common foreign and security policy. They also moved toward pursuing joint action in areas ranging from immigration to education and labor. "This meeting," said German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, "has resulted in the fulfillment of a dream. Further integration is now inevitable. The course is irreversible."

The Maastricht decisions will be incorporated into the 1957 Treaty of Rome, the E.C.'s charter document. With its political dimension expanded, the Community—the industrialized world's largest single market with 340 million people—should provide much needed stability in the face of turmoil in Eastern Europe and disintegration in the former Soviet Union.

The summit's crowning achievement was the commitment by 11 of the 12 (Britain excepted) to monetary union by the end of the century. After years of debate, the leaders agreed to establish a single European Currency Unit, the *ecu*, as early as January 1997. But each country must first meet stringent economic criteria. Among them, total government debt must fall below 60% of gross domestic product, and budget deficits may not surpass 3% of GDP. If fewer than seven countries meet the test by the target date, then the currency will be delayed until 1999, when qualifying nations will put the *ecu* into circulation as their legal tender. Countries still unable to adopt the *ecu* by that date will do so when their economic performance matches the

E.C. guidelines. In addition, a European Monetary Institute will be established in 1994 and will later achieve full powers as Europe's central bank.

All of this is designed to make Western Europe the world's biggest economic power, equipped to meet the American and Japanese challenge. But there are huge caveats. Most important, Britain demanded a separate "opt out" clause, under which its Parliament may vote later in the decade on whether or not to adopt the *ecu*. Moreover, only three countries currently meet the criteria. At a time when average E.C. unemployment is nearly 10%, hett tightening to achieve the rigid goals will hardly be popular.

The Maastricht decisions raise the prospect of a "two-tier Europe" in which the economically powerful countries of the north will pull even further ahead of the nations to the south. "Countries unable or unwilling to join a single currency, including Britain, will quickly find themselves facing currency instability, higher interest



Britain's Major "opts out" twice

and other very tricky domestic problems," warns David Roche, chief international-portfolio strategist for Morgan Stanley in London. To help lagging economies catch up, the E.C. will create a "cohesion fund" to pour an unspecified amount of cash into

The Road Ahead

SEPTEMBER 1992:

The earliest date when negotiations leading to E.C. membership for Austria and Sweden could begin.

JAN. 1, 1993: Formal program for the single market should be completed.

JAN. 1, 1994: The European Monetary Institute, precursor of a European Central Bank, begins coordinating policy.

JUNE 1994: Election for the next European Parliament, which will assume some added powers.

JAN. 1, 1997: If seven members meet the E.C.'s tough economic criteria, they will adopt a single currency. Britain will have the choice of opting in or out at this stage, while Denmark will hold a referendum before joining.

JAN. 1, 1999: The single currency, if not already in force, will be invoked automatically.



transportation, infrastructure and environmental cleanup in the south.

The summiters also agreed to move toward a more unified foreign policy. This follows the divided stance of the E.C. during the gulf war and its indecision about whether to send peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia. E.C. President Jacques Delors, who had branded the Community's foreign policy apparatus "organized schizophrenia," called for streamlined decision-making procedures. But members shrugged off pressure from France to adopt majority voting, yielding to Britain's insistence that a unanimous poll serve as the only basis for important initiatives.

On security, the members agreed for the first time to work toward what the treaty described as "the eventual framing of a common defense policy." Members designated the Western European Union, a long inactive consultative group that includes nine E.C. members, as the new military "pillar," to act in coordination with NATO. While the treaty calls upon the WEU to "respect the obligations" of the states belonging to NATO, there is no categorical statement that NATO will remain the key to Europe's defense. The three nonmembers of the WEU, Greece among them, will be invited to join, while Turkey, a NATO ally that does not belong to the E.C., will be offered associate status.

The Community had little difficulty accepting joint action or increased cooperation in the areas of industrial affairs, health, education and immigration. But labor policy proved far thornier. Eleven members signed a "social chapter" that expands E.C. authority over labor practices, including minimum wages, working hours and firings. Again Britain opted out—hardly surprising, given the years of Thatcherite determination to loosen labor unions' stranglehold on the country's economy.

While the summiters hailed the gathering as a success, some audiences back home were not quite so impressed. In Britain opposition Labor leader Neil Kinnock argued that Major's refusal to commit to either a single currency or social policy "has isolated Britain on the most vital issues." In Germany, where fears mount that a common currency will undermine the country's cherished anti-inflationary stability, the daily *Bild Zeitung* ran the gloomy headline: "1999—THE END OF THE MARK."

Still, Maastricht marked a major milestone in the European Community's quest for greater integration. Although the word federal does not appear in the treaty—once again, at British insistence—the text does call for "an ever closer union." Three decades ago, Jean Monnet, the E.C.'s founding father, championed the notion that tighter economic ties would produce closer political cooperation. In Maastricht that dream was endorsed with renewed enthusiasm by the leaders of the new Europe.

—Reported by

Adam Zagorin/Maastricht

THE KOREAS

Wary Hands Across the DMZ

The cold war's last combatants sign a nonaggression pact—but their pressing nuclear issue remains unresolved

North Korean Prime Minister Yon Hyong Muk sounded anything but upbeat as he described the mood of "gloom" after 15 months of fruitless discussions between Pyongyang and Seoul. But at the fifth round of talks last week, Yon's spirits took a sudden upturn when his South Korean host and counterpart, Chung Won Shik, dropped an unexpected secret: removal of the last American nuclear weapon on Korean soil was complete. That announcement, long sought by Pyongyang, broke the negotiating logjam.

Chung Yong Suk, a professor of political science at Seoul's Dankook University, points out that the two sides for the first time used their official designations in signing the document, in effect according de facto recognition to each other. Kim Dae Jung, co-chairman of the South Korean opposition Democratic Party, called the pact a step through the "door of peace and reunification."

The accord calls for the two countries to re-establish links in the form of roads and communications. They will also set up



Sudden upturn: Yon, left, and Chung clasp hands aloft to celebrate the signing

Twenty hours later, following an all-night session, the two sides announced agreement on a nonaggression accord that in effect ended their 41-year-old state of war. Said Chung at the signing ceremony Friday morning: "Today the tide of reconciliation and cooperation flowing worldwide has reached this land."

Perhaps. But skeptics were quick to point out that the two Koreas had seemed on the brink of peace before—most notably in 1972—and failed to achieve real reconciliation. Nor, despite Seoul's unilateral concession on nukes, did the latest agreement mention the region's most pressing security concern: the North's rapid progress toward developing a nuclear bomb. Even Washington, South Korea's closest ally, coupled its pro forma congratulations with signals of misgivings over the lack of progress on the nuclear front.

Yet some were convinced that the adversaries in the cold war's last active confrontation might really be ready for peace.

a liaison office to help reunite some 10 million families separated by the peninsula's hostilities from 1950 to 1953 and the long standoff that followed. These human bonds have long been sought by South Korean President Roh Tae Woo and opposed by the xenophobic regime of North Korea's Kim Il Sung. Pyongyang's about-face seems to reflect its concern over growing diplomatic isolation and sharp setbacks to its own economy.

The pact's failure to deal with the nuclear issue is a serious but not necessarily fatal flaw. The two sides agreed to take it up in separate negotiations scheduled to get under way this week in the border village of Panmunjom. If Pyongyang shows that it is not merely playing for time, the two governments plan to hold further meetings in February, with a summit between Roh and Kim a much touted possibility.

—By William R. Doerner.
Reported by Richard Hornik/Hong Kong and K.C. Hwang/Seoul

WORLD NOTES

FUGITIVES

Where Next? Chechen?

Where is a failed communist to go these days? Ousted East German leader Erich Honecker thought he had found a safe haven in the Soviet Union. But last week Russian President Boris Yeltsin said Honecker, 79, had to leave.

The East German quickly found a friend: Clodomiro Almeyda, the Chilean ambassador to Moscow, who had been given refuge in East Germany following the bloody 1973 coup in Chile. Almeyda invited Honecker to stay in his embassy while he asked his government to give Honecker



Former East German leader Honecker in Moscow

asylum. Then came Santiago's response: no.

The German government has formally requested Honecker's return, but if truth be told, the Germans hope he will not come. A trial would give Honecker a chance to claim

political persecution, and he could prove an embarrassment.

At week's end the East German still had two options: North Korea offered temporary refuge, while permanent sanctuary was held out by Dzhokhar Dudayev, the President of the tiny, self-proclaimed Chechen republic (which broke away from Russia's Chechen-Ingush region). A staunch anti-communist, Dudayev said he offered his hospitality "to save the honor of both Gorbachev and Yeltsin."



Miyazawa under fire

JAPAN

A Setback For Miyazawa

No matter how long Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa hangs on to his post, he is not likely to have many weeks as bad as the last one. Along with a sharp drop in the Tokyo Stock Exchange, declining approval ratings in the polls, and insinuations of financial wrongdoings, he suffered a particularly disappointing setback when parliament effectively killed a government measure to let Japanese soldiers serve overseas in United Nations peacekeeping operations. After harsh criticism in the West for Japan's failure to participate in the gulf coalition against Iraq, Miyazawa was determined to ease his country's strict limitations on military service abroad. The bill was approved by the Lower House of the Diet after sometimes violent debate, but when the Prime Minister tried to push it through the Upper House, support drained away.

Miyazawa refused to meet opposition demands for closer Diet review of any deployment with the U.N. He lost the backing of some in his own party, who feared they would alienate voters in next summer's election. "Pacifist sentiment, especially among women, is very strong," said Wakako Hironaka, an opposition member who supported the bill. "Some people mistakenly fear that sending troops overseas, even with the United Nations, means the revival of militarism."

ARGENTINA

The Unsinkable Carlos Menem

Love him or hate him, President Carlos Saul Menem is never dull. Since taking office in 1989, he has been embroiled in enough scandals to sink a boatload of American politicians.

Eyebrows went up when he accepted a \$100,000 Ferrari Testarossa from Italian businessmen, then balked at sugges-

tions that the gift was improper. Bowing to public pressure, Menem has auctioned off the red roadster and donated the proceeds to charity.

Then a close presidential adviser took a leave of absence after it was disclosed that he owned a company that distributed powdered milk in a state welfare program. Conflict of interest? Yes. But read on: the milk contained dangerous levels of bacteria and was reported to be radioactive.

Nevertheless, Menem's Tel-



Menem driving his red Ferrari

lon presidency appears unchipped. An opinion poll this month gave him a 45% approval rating, up 14 points from last April, largely based on his success at taming the country's hyperinflation.

BURMA

No Peace For Rangoon

Despite more than two years of house arrest, Aung San Suu Kyi casts a bigger shadow than ever over the repressive rulers of Burma. The official presentation of her Nobel Peace Prize to her son last week triggered demonstrations and renewed calls abroad for the generals to hand over power to the parliament that was elected last year.

Widespread reports that retired strongman Ne Win had recently suffered a stroke fanned hopes that the military might finally yield. Yet when 700 students gathered at the University of Rangoon to press for Suu Kyi's release, hundreds of



Demonstrators once again protest the detention of Aung San Suu Kyi

heavily armed troops surrounded the campus, arrested scores, and shut the universities.

Junta officials still say they plan to return the country to elected rule, but they have to be

careful to avoid economic or political disorder during the transition. Given the demonstrations last week, the restoration of democracy seemed unlikely anytime soon.

POLITICS

Can "America First" Bring Jobs Back?

Even though it's a bad idea, the cry for the U.S. to withdraw from the world is staging a revival—and Pat Buchanan hopes to exploit it

By LAURENCE I. BARRETT CONCORD

In declaring his long-shot challenge to George Bush for the Republican presidential nomination, conservative columnist Pat Buchanan toned down some of his reactionary ideas. But he retained enough traces of xenophobia to sound like a flashback from the isolationist 1930s. Launching his campaign in New Hampshire, where the first 1992 presidential primary is only nine weeks away, Buchanan demanded no less than America's retreat from the world at flank speed.

The debater's edge he has polished as a television shout-show panelist helped Buchanan frame his differences with Bush in only 41 words: "He is a globalist and we are nationalists. He believes in some *Pax Universalis*: we believe in the old Republic. He would put America's wealth and power at the service of some vague New World Order; we will put America first." Buchanan believes that the U.S. has no business promoting democracy abroad now that the cold war is history. He wants to end direct foreign aid and curtail U.S. participation in the World Bank. Buchanan would rapidly withdraw all American ground forces from Europe. Some of the troops, he suggests, should be used to reinforce border patrols that intercept illegal immigrants from Mexico. As for legal immigration from Third World countries, Buchanan would curb that too.

While Buchanan is by far the most extreme neo-isolationist to declare his candidacy, other versions of that creed are erupting all along the political spectrum. The redefinition of U.S. priorities and interests in the post-cold war world is a subject that cries out for cool debate. But what

the country has been handed in the slow-starting presidential campaign is mostly warm mush.

Whatever the merits of Buchanan's arguments, mushiness is not his problem. His goal is not to win the nomination—though he would surely accept it if a near-miracle occurred—but to pressure Bush to move to the right by garnering a large share of votes in several primaries. Though Buchanan's America-first ideology is dismissed as unrealistic by those he derisively labels "the globalist foreign policy contingent in both parties," appealing to isolationism is a powerful political weapon.

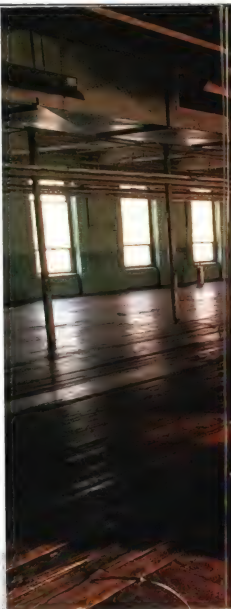
The desire to pull back from foreign entanglements is an enduring part of the American psyche that rears up whenever the nation tires of exertions abroad. After World War I, the U.S. rejected membership in the League of Nations, adopted a restrictive immigration policy and eventually enacted high tariff barriers. It took Pearl Harbor and then communist expansionism to make internationalism the basis of U.S. foreign policy. Even during the heyday of the effort to contain communism, "the public never fully bought the challenge," says Thomas Mann of the Brookings Institution. "Only a bipartisan consensus among elites kept the country's latent isolationism at bay."

That consensus has imploded with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Now that the Red Menace is gone, so-called paleoconservatives like Buchanan see no justification for vigorous American involvement abroad. Like many liberals—and most of the Democratic presidential candidates—Buchanan initially opposed Bush's aggressive response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. He contended that U.S. security interests

defined only in the most narrow sense warranted going to war. Meanwhile some Democrats are arguing that all could be made well at home if the U.S. would only adopt a more protectionist trade policy, shielding American firms from foreign competition.

New Hampshire, hit harder than most areas by the recession, is an excellent place to make that case—especially since the state's G.O.P. has a strong right-wing faction that has long distrusted Bush. Both moderate and conservative New Hampshire Republicans, who rescued Bush's faltering nomination campaign in 1988, now feel resentful and abandoned. In that contest Bush vowed not to raise taxes, a pledge he broke in agreeing to the 1990 deficit-reduction deal. Buchanan slams the President on that issue in every speech.

Buchanan, at minimum, can embarrass Bush by harping on the President's seeming





REPAIRS NEEDED

Because the state's economy is slumping, the charge that Bush has neglected domestic woes strikes home with New Hampshire voters. This Manchester sweater factory, which once employed 1,000 workers, closed its doors last year.

indifference to the nation's domestic problems. Bush's obsession with foreign affairs would have caused him little political grief had the recession been short and shallow. But the downturn's severity, together with Bush's slowness in taking steps to combat it, have left him open to the charge that his attention begins at the ocean's edge. The President betrayed his worries about such attacks last week when he responded to Buchanan's charges: "We must not pull back into some isolationist sphere, listening to

this sirens' call of America first." Protectionism, Bush said, will only "shrink markets and throw people out of work."

The President is right. Despite the \$66 billion trade deficit, U.S. exports have been growing, in constant dollars, as a proportion of the gross national product. Says Robert Hormats, vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International: "A country that exports 15% of its GNP cannot turn its back on the world economy and hope to prosper." But Bush only grudgingly and recently has begun to consider measures to make the U.S. more competitive. His muzzy pronouncements about creating a new world order fail to address the need to redirect the energies formerly focused on the cold war to long-term economic revival.

Even if Buchanan's underfinanced campaign flaps early, Democrats will continue to bash Bush for his preoccupation with foreign affairs. Well before the plunge

in Bush's poll ratings lured Buchanan into the race, some Democrats were honing variations on isolationist and protectionist themes. Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder came to New Hampshire in August to tout what he calls a "Put-America-First Initiative." He echoes Iowa Senator Tom Harkin, who has stridently attacked Bush for his foreign travels, lambasted the free-trade treaty that the Administration is negotiating with Mexico and carped about foreign aid. While insisting that he is neither an isolationist nor a protectionist, Harkin often sounds like both. When he declared his candidacy, he spoke approvingly of Abraham Lincoln's decision to buy expensive railway track from domestic foundries rather than import cheaper supplies from Britain.

Japan is a favorite target of most of the Democrats. Nebraska Senator Bob Kerrey has accused Tokyo of using unfair trade

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Nation

practices to undermine prosperity in the U.S. and impede the development of poorer countries. Former Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts gets laughs in neighboring New Hampshire when he says, "The cold war is over and Japan won." But Tsongas has a more sophisticated approach than most of his Democratic rivals, emphasizing restoring American technological and industrial primacy rather than lashing out at foreign countries.

Of the announced Democratic candidates, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton has gone furthest in framing a coherent approach that includes efforts to promote fair trade but avoids nostalgic appeals to isolationism in economic or political terms. Last week he outlined his differences with the Democratic rivals—and with Bush—in a major speech on national security policy. He

argued that the U.S. must maintain its influence in a world still groping for stability and at the same time address domestic problems. In Clinton's view, national security depends as much on economic vitality as it does on a strong military. One way to accomplish both goals, he said, is to accelerate cuts in defense spending already under way while modernizing the military-force structure.

The savings would be devoted to domestic development programs and deficit reduction. Further raids on the Pentagon budget are probably inevitable; all the Democratic candidates favor diversion of military funds to domestic purposes, and the Administration is inching in that direction. But doing that will require rewriting the budget accord struck by Congress and the

Administration last year, which forbids any savings from reduced defense spending to be shifted to domestic programs. Still, Clinton's proposal is a serious attempt to treat national security and domestic needs as complements to each other rather than as an either-or proposition.

Some dedicated internationalists, in fact, have been trying to move the debate over national security in that direction since the Soviet collapse began. "Curing our domestic ills," says William Hyland, editor of *Foreign Affairs*, "is part of good foreign policy." He argues that throughout the cold war, fighting communism almost invariably prevailed over domestic needs. Now the balance must be shifted back toward the homefront if the U.S. is to retain the strength it needs to play an important role in the world.



The pugnacious commentator launching his challenge to Bush in Concord, N.H.

Loose Buchanan

Pat Buchanan's announcement that he was running for President was exactly in character. He was at pains to say how much he likes George Bush. He was communications director in the Reagan-Bush Administration and has dined with the current First Family in their private White House quarters. But Buchanan has his reasons for launching a full-frontal assault against the fellow Republican he likes so much. For Buchanan, Bush is insufficiently Buchanan-like—not nativist, rightist, homophobic, authoritarian or anti-Israel enough.

Like many ultraconservatives, Buchanan is unfailingly kind and generous to people regardless of their background. But he can be just as cruel to the groups to which they belong. To him, gays are "sodomites," the poor are "freeloaders," and immigrants from anywhere but Western Europe are a threat to the American way of life. Buchanan's remarks about Jews in particular are so provocative that his fellow panelists on TV political talk shows—including Al Hunt of the *Wall Street Journal*, Morton Kondracke of the *New Republic* and Washington Post col-

umnist Mark Shields—have felt the need to say publicly that their colleague is not an anti-Semite.

That issue came up during the debate over whether the U.S. should use force to expel Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. Buchanan charged that there were "only two groups that are beating the drums for war in the Middle East—the Israeli defense ministry and its amen corner in the U.S." New York Times columnist A.M. Rosenthal accused Buchanan of anti-Semitism and "blood libel" (a reference to the canard leveled by bigots since the Middle Ages that Jews kill Christian children and use their blood in making Passover matzo). Rosenthal's attack was so outrageous that Buchanan survived the storm.

Now the man Buchanan reveres as his "spiritual guide" has taken Buchanan to the woodshed. In a 38,000-word essay in the *National Review*, William F. Buckley Jr., the godfather of conservatism, writes, "I find it impossible to defend Pat Buchanan against the charge that what he did and said during the period under examination amounted to anti-Semitism, whatever it was that drove him to say and do it; most probably an iconoclastic temperament."

That iconoclastic temperament has also driven Buchanan to give sympathetic attention to crackpot Holocaust revisionists. In addition, he made intemperate comments during his crusade to prove the innocence of John Demjanjuk, a retired Cleveland autoworker convicted by an Israeli court of having helped murder hundreds of thousands of Jews as a Nazi death-camp guard known as Ivan the Terrible. There is considerable evidence that Buchanan may be right that Demjanjuk could not have been the mass murderer of Treblinka. But Buchanan has also claimed that diesel engines do not emit enough carbon monoxide to kill anybody, much less 850,000 people at Treblinka; that the U.S. should not have apologized to France for protecting Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie; and that Arthur Rudolph, the ex-Nazi rocket scientist forced to leave the U.S. after the Justice Department accused him of brutalizing slave laborers at a Nazi rocket factory, was "railroaded."

Those views go beyond being merely pugnacious. Four years ago, Buchanan came close to running for the presidency with the slogan LET THE BLOOD BATH BEGIN. It is still his motto.

—By Margaret Carlson/Washington

The Political Interest

Michael Kramer

Getting It Right with the Jewish Vote

Mario Cuomo had a choice when he addressed an audience of Miami Jews on Dec. 5. He could score with some cheap political rhetoric, or he could tell the complicated, nuance-laden truth. Cuomo chose the former. In a speech that pushed every pro-Israel button known to man, New York's Governor singled out the Arab states' economic boycott of Israel for special condemnation. The applause increased when Cuomo identified Japan as a particularly egregious and cowardly collaborator. "I was in Japan [in October], talking every day about the Arab boycott," said Cuomo. "You know what a difference it would make if you could get Japan involved in business with Israel?"

On the surface, Cuomo's attack was unremarkable. Japan bashing is fashionable these days, and decrying the Arab boycott (which surely deserves it) is the quickest way to a Jew's heart. But Cuomo knew better. He knew that while the Japanese government has sent mixed signals to the nation's corporations about the boycott, Tokyo has officially called for its suspension. He also knew that several Japanese companies were already selling cars in Israel and that other Japanese enterprises would begin trading with Israel soon. In fact, Cuomo knew this all so well that in his conversation with Taro Nakayama, who was then the Foreign Minister, the Governor said he was "appreciative of Japan's changing attitude on the boycott."

Saying different things to different audiences is not exactly uncommon in politics. And ever since Dwight Eisenhower complained that his golf game suffered because someone was "always yelling Nasser at the top of my backswing," every politician with national ambitions has been attuned to how his Middle East views play on the U.S. political scene. Today's Democratic contenders are no exception. Even those who are toying with isolationism make an exception for Israel. They know that American Jews are a bountiful source of campaign contributions and that they vote in numbers far exceeding their percentage of the population. (In New York, for example, a Jewish population of 12% will probably account for more than 30% of the state's 1992 Democratic primary vote.)

From Israel's perspective, all of this year's Democratic candidates are "right" on the current fitness test—Jerusalem's request for \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees to resettle Soviet Jews. Beyond that touchstone, the contenders' stances fragment. The candidate in the most potential trouble with American Jews is Bob Kerrey, who's "right" now, but who refused to co-sponsor the Senate bill that would have authorized granting the loan guarantees last fall. Kerrey's other problems include his calling Israel's West Bank settlements "provocative" and his insistence that the U.S. embassy remain in Tel Aviv (a sore point with Israel's government, which wants it moved to Jerusalem).

Paul Tsongas and Douglas Wilder have been "good," according to Jewish leaders who monitor such matters. Bill Clinton has lately made all the right noises, but he could be hit for merely asserting that Israel will "inevitably" have to trade land



Still thinking: even while giving blood, Cuomo seemed to ponder the presidency

for peace, and for favoring an "evenhanded" Middle East policy—"evenhanded" signifying an Arab tilt to some Jews.

Tom Harkin, who says evenhandedness is "ridiculous," has been all over the lot. While Jewish groups view him as generally "right," Harkin twice voted to cut foreign aid to all countries by 5%. He could be hurt as well by a May 13, 1991, letter to an Iowa constituent in which he supported "a negotiated settlement that would satisfy the national aspirations of both the Israelis and Palestinians," a formulation that apparently envisions an eventual West Bank Palestinian state.

None of the announced candidates can top Mario Cuomo, who scores a perfect 10 on the Pander Meter. Some highlights: in 1988 Cuomo unsuccessfully advised Michael Dukakis to break with the 30 Democratic U.S. Senators (most of them strong supporters of Israel) who had urged Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to negotiate with the Palestinians. In June 1990 Cuomo praised Shamir for "correctly refusing to offer any guarantees that would limit the settlement" of Soviet Jews "anywhere in Israel." Last month Cuomo derided President Bush's Middle East maneuvers, saying, "I don't believe you should be evenhanded between the people who share your values and have been your staunch allies—always, without exception—and people who have not." One can only hope that to further peace, a President Cuomo would mute such talk, but then again the Governor is famous for saying exactly what he means and acting accordingly.

Meanwhile, Bush, who won 31% of Jewish votes in 1988, plugs along. If ever he doubts that good policy is sometimes smart politics, he should recall history. Shortly before the 1956 election, Eisenhower took Egypt's side in the Suez Canal dispute. He warned Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion "not [to] make any grave mistake based upon [your] belief that winning a domestic election is as important to us as preserving the peace." Ike won in a landslide and captured 40% of the Jewish vote, still the high-water mark for a Republican. If today's peace talks produce significant progress before next November, Bush could confound everyone by replicating Ike's showing among Jewish voters—and he would deserve to. ■




Official film of
the U.S. Ski Team. 

Photo by Bill Hudson, member, U.S. Ski Team, Park City, Utah.



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PALM BEACH TRIAL

The Case That Was Not Heard

The prosecution had strong evidence against William Smith but could not use it in court

By CATHY BOOTH WEST PALM BEACH

After 10 days of wrenching, confusing and graphic testimony, it took the six-member jury only 77 minutes to find William Kennedy Smith not guilty of raping a woman at his family's Palm Beach estate last Easter weekend. The swift decision raised questions about the prosecution's case, which boiled down to pitting the accuser's harrowing tale of being pinned to the ground and violated against Smith's equally vehement denials. Many prosecutors would have dropped the case as unwinnable. Why then did State Attorney David Bludworth and Moira Lasch, his chief felony attorney, decide to press ahead?

Smith's lawyer, Roy Black, and some legal experts assert that Bludworth's motive was to avoid seeming soft on the Kennedy family. But there was more to it than that. During their eight-month investigation, the prosecutors became convinced that the woman was telling the truth about Smith, then a medical student at Georgetown University. Their problem was proving that in court.

After the trial ended, Bludworth insisted, "Based on the evidence, I would charge [Smith] again today. This wasn't date rape. They had just met. This was a sexual battery, intercourse without her consent." The police, prosecutors, rape counselors and the doctors who examined the woman believed her. During the investigation, she passed two polygraph tests and a voice-stress analysis. She stuck to her story through five grueling interrogations by police and prosecutors and an exhausting three-day deposition by the defense. The bruises on her torso were consistent with the attack she described. Says Bludworth: "There was absolutely no question that there was more than probable cause to file charges."

Much as Bludworth may deny it, the fact that a Kennedy family member was involved may have played a role in his decision to prosecute. Seven years ago, he was accused of kowtowing to the family by not

thoroughly investigating the drug-overdose death of Robert Kennedy's son David in Palm Beach. Bludworth, who faces reelection next year, risked renewed accusations of a cover-up had he declined to move against another Kennedy.

His and Lasch's suspicions were further aroused when the Kennedys gave police investigators what seemed to be a run-around. William Barry, a former FBI agent who was staying at the compound, incorrectly told detectives that Senator Edward Kennedy had left for Washington when in fact he was having lunch at the Palm Beach estate. For two weeks the family rebuffed police attempts to survey the grounds where the alleged assault took place. That was sufficient time for the wind and sea to obliterate any evidence that might have corroborated the woman's story. A grand jury may decide this week whether to indict Barry for obstruction of justice.

Any doubts Bludworth and Lasch might have harbored about Smith's guilt seem to have been swept away last summer when three women came forward to claim that they too had been sexually attacked by Smith. Each described how an initially charming Smith had turned violent once they were alone with him—eerily mirroring the account of the woman in the Palm Beach case.

Presenting the women's stories to a jury was another matter. Florida bars testimony about a rape defendant's sexual history unless it shows a striking and detailed similarity to the crime he is charged with. Moreover, none of the women had filed charges against Smith. One of Lasch's most controversial moves was to release the three women's stories, perhaps mistakenly hoping that prospective jurors would remember them even if they were not introduced into evidence. Bludworth says Florida's "sunshine law," which requires that public records be made available on request, left Lasch with no choice but to make the stories public—as well as details of the accuser's sexual past, which included three abortions and sexual abuse by her father.



Not guilty: Smith strolls on the beach where the murky encounter began

Defense attorney Black mounted a devastating counterattack on the women's stories. He argued that the three cases did not represent a "signature style," and that the only real question in the Palm Beach case was whether the woman consented or not. When Judge Mary Lupo ruled that the women could not testify because Lasch had failed to establish enough parallels between their stories and the one from Smith's accuser, the prosecution's case, for all practical purposes, was over.

Lasch's case was not helped by Smith's plodding courtroom performance. He was clearly despondent after Smith's boy-next-door performance on the witness stand. He calmly described accepting the woman's offer of a ride home from Au Bar, a popular Palm Beach night spot, and then walking with her along the beach. After exchanging kisses, he testified, the couple had two sexual encounters—though the romantic mood was broken when he mistakenly called her "Cathie." Unable to shake Smith's story, Lasch resorted to expressions of incredulity that two people who had met in a notorious pickup joint could be having sex only a few hours later. "Well, Mr. Smith, what are you? Some kind of sex machine?" she asked. Some law students are buying tapes of her four-hour cross-examination of Smith to learn from her mistakes.

After his exoneration, Smith celebrated with his family, then spent the weekend catching up on his tan at the estate. Meanwhile, his accuser remained in hiding in a vain attempt to maintain her anonymity. Only hours after the jury read its verdict, TV technicians on some channels dramatically dissolved the blurry blob that had hidden her face from viewers while the trial proceeded. From now on she will be recognizable as the woman who accused William Kennedy Smith of rape—and was not believed.

RACE RELATIONS

A White Person's Town?

Dubuque, Iowa, tries to shuck off its racist past with a controversial program for luring minorities

By JON D. HULL DUBUQUE

Before Jerome Greer was invited to relocate from St. Louis and take a job as principal of Irving elementary school in Dubuque, Iowa, the personnel director issued a word of caution: no one in the city had the faintest idea how to cut his hair. "This is a white person's town," says Greer, who took the job last July but still gets his hair cut in St. Louis. "On my first day at school, a kid asked me whether I was Bill Cosby."

Haircuts are the least of Greer's problems as Dubuque wrestles with a plan to force the town out of its time warp by aggressively recruiting minorities. During the 1940s and 1950s police advised blacks who stepped off the train to move on to the next town. Though the city's racist past is not unusual, its state of preservation is remarkable. "I was refused housing, insurance, you name it," says Ruby Sutton, an African American who moved to Dubuque from Chicago in 1962 when her husband was transferred by the railroads. "At least down South they were brutally honest. Here they just lie to you if you're black."

Dubuque can be brutal as well. Following a series of cross burnings in 1989, a

small group of liberals concluded that "Dubuque has the image of a closed, intolerant, and even racist community." They set up the Task Force for Constructive Integration, hammered out a nine-page plan for a sweeping re-education of the citizenry and asked the city to recruit 100 minority families by 1995.

Though the plan has yet to be officially enacted, the city council endorsed it by a 6-to-1 vote last May. Dubuque hasn't been the same since. "The plan is perceived by blue-collar workers as a personal threat to their jobs," says Bob Wahlert, president of F D L Foods and a supporter of the scheme. Twelve cross burnings since July suggest that darker emotions are also involved.

Nestled along the Mississippi River near where the borders of Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin converge, Dubuque is an unlikely candidate for social engineering. Of 58,000 residents, fewer than 1,000 are minorities, only one-third of them black. The city, says Mayor James Brady, "missed the 1960s. People can go all their lives without seeing a black person." That suits local white supremacists like Bill McDermott just fine. Says he: "Why should our town be destroyed by black riots and crime?"

Most residents consider McDermott an

embarrassment. Desperate to stop the bad publicity, the city has enrolled department heads in racial-sensitivity courses, while billboards plastered across the town inquire, **WHY DO WE HATE?** Girl Scouts and businesses have distributed 10,000 multi-colored ribbons in support of racial harmony, while 300 businesses have published an ad in the *Telegraph Herald* defending the plan's principles.

After Alice Scott, a black newcomer from Milwaukee, had a cross burned on her lawn and a brick thrown through her

window five weeks ago, dozens of residents, including schoolchildren, came by to express their support. "I cried when I saw all those cards and letters," says Scott, 32, who has found a

job in a sandwich shop. "This town has some good people, and I'm gonna stay." Adds Charles Azebeokhai, the black head of the city's human rights office: "The only difference between Dubuque and cities like New York and Chicago is that we've got the guts to do something about racism."

Lots of luck. In Dubuque as elsewhere, racial debates frequently descend into ugly arguments over affirmative action, quotas, welfare—and worse. Smelling fertile soil, Ku Klux Klan national director Thom Robb of Arkansas and a few of his cronies made an appearance three weeks ago, attracting about 150 residents to a rally. "You hear people saying that the Klan sounds kind of reasonable, and that's scary," says Francis Giunta, head of the Dubuque Federation of Labor. Plan supporters held counterdemonstrations. Even



White supremacist McDermott, left, at city hall; Alice Scott got support from dozens after a cross was burned at her home



the Guardian Angels showed up for a few days. At Dubuque Senior High School, police had to patrol the halls following several fistfights between blacks and whites. "The white kids thought their parents would lose their jobs and homes to minorities," says principal Larry Mitchell, who plans to start a minorities-studies course next year.

Although one poll found that 85% of residents support the concept of increased diversity, more than 2,000 have signed a petition opposing the proposal to recruit minorities. "The vast majority of residents are not wild-eyed, foaming-at-the-mouth racists," says Michael Pratt, a supporter of the plan. "But people have got the idea that tax money will be spent to bring in welfare families and dump them in the middle of Dubuque." Pratt lost his city council seat in last month's election.

The task force is rewriting the initiative, and the watered-down version is expected to avoid any mention of using taxpayer money. Instead, local employers will simply be asked to consider hiring minorities when recruiting for positions that can't be filled locally. Says J. Steven Horman, president of the Dubuque Chamber of Commerce: "I'm convinced that not one single job will be lost."

But even the new version is likely to meet with widespread hostility in a town still traumatized by the massive layoffs during the early 1980s at the John Deere Dubuque Works and the now defunct Dubuque Packing Co. Though unemployment stands below the national average and tourism has nearly doubled in the past year thanks to riverboat gambling, few Dubuquers feel secure. "People believe the pie is shrinking, and they are not in the mood to share their piece," says Giunta.

Particularly with blacks. "To wholesale integrate this town because 'by God we're going to integrate' is not fair," says businessman David Hartig Jr., who headed the petition drive against the plan. "This is simply a quota plan." Hartig is at pains to distance himself from the resident bigots, but says, "People who don't like a closed community like Dubuque can go elsewhere." He complains that the only reason the plan has survived is because business leaders are afraid to oppose it. "It's like McCarthyism," he says. "If you don't support affirmative-action plans, then you're called a racist."

Then again, many Dubuquers simply can't conceive that a black might be better qualified for a job. And while Mayor Brady insists that Dubuque must diversify to attract more businesses, few residents associate minorities with prosperity. "Blacks have higher crime rates, welfare rates and birthrates," says McDermott. "Why should we change our life-styles to give blacks preferential treatment?"

Put gently, most residents like their town just the way it is.



Targets of Wilson's plan: Amy Shine's family will lose money if the welfare cuts are approved

WELFARE

Cutting the Costs

California's Pete Wilson offers a sweeping plan to slash payments and change the behavior of the poor

Pete Wilson is delivering a stark message this Christmas season to 2.2 million welfare recipients in California: It's becoming too expensive to support you. Facing a \$3.6 billion deficit (over and above last year's \$14 billion), the Republican Governor has called for an amendment to the state constitution granting him power to delete \$640 million worth of social service programs from the state budget.

Wilson's proposal is a combination of fiscal conservatism and enforced behavioral modification for those who receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a program that costs the state \$6 billion each year. If approved by a majority of voters next November, the measure would automatically reduce AFDC payments 10%, lowering the monthly payment to a single mother with two children from \$663 to \$597. Furthermore, mothers who have additional children would not receive more financial aid, and yearly cost-of-living adjustments for AFDC would be eliminated. Newcomers from elsewhere in the U.S. would be limited during their first year in California to what they would have received in the states they had left.

Democrats in the legislature condemned the measure as a demagogic attack on AFDC. In addition, some advocates of welfare rights question the constitutionality of denying benefits to newborn children. But state officials note that public-assistance expenditures are growing at a 12% annual rate, and they claim people are migrating to California to take advantage of the state's higher welfare payments. In

an interview with TIME last month, Wilson talked about the tough choices ahead: "What we are going to have to do, I think, is make an internal decision to be less generous. . . . There is a limit to what we can absorb." Despite Wilson's fears, statistics indicate that only 6% of California AFDC families have lived in the state less than 12 months.

California's initiative follows the lead set by Michigan last October, when Republican Governor John Engler threw 90,000 "able-bodied" adults off the welfare rolls in an effort to close a projected \$1 billion budget gap. But Engler's "solution" has produced more chaos than cure. Michigan's unemployment rate is greater than 9%, and even highly qualified workers are finding it hard to get a job. In the wake of Engler's edict, thousands of welfare recipients have lost their apartments; seven people who were disqualified from receiving welfare have died from exposure this winter.

Although Michigan's tough approach has few defenders, a majority of voters strongly endorse the notion that states should compel those on public relief to meet certain requirements in exchange for being supported. A proposal under consideration in Maryland is typical: welfare mothers could lose 30% of their benefits if they do not pay rent, make sure their children are immunized against diseases and keep them in school. The budgetary crises facing the states will accelerate the trend.

—By David Ellis.

Reported by William McWhirter/Detroit and Edwin M. Reingold/Los Angeles

SAVE the Wheatfields. Recycle Toast.

Just when it seems to make sense, it makes no sense at all. Public awareness of some of the nation's most serious environmental issues is becoming clouded by misconception and confused by a myriad of concerns. When it comes to the environment, there seem to be six sides to every coin and a whole pocketful of change to count.

The rallying cry around recycling and recycled paper, for instance, is often one about "saving" trees. Yes, trees are a vital natural resource, but they are a *renewable* resource—and one that is protected by sound forest management. In other words, since trees are such a big part of papermaking, paper companies have to ensure a stable supply of forestland for future generations to both use and enjoy. At Champion, we plant an average of six trees for every one cut—and we've been practicing that kind of reforestation for years.

If what we say about forest management is true, then why recycle? And why use recycled paper?

The critical issue is not a pretty one—certainly not as pretty as a forest of trees. The real issue is garbage dumps (or, in the lingo of the waste management industry, the "municipal landfills"). Existing landfills are

filling up, local support for creating new ones is just about nil, and the increasing cost of waste disposal is forcing this nation to seek alternatives.

One way to help alleviate the burden on landfills is to recycle—to divert from the landfills the stuff we throw out. In the case of waste paper, we can lessen by *millions* of tons the amount of paper garbage we are asking our remaining landfills to accommodate. The paper industry, for example, currently recovers for recycling (both here and abroad) about one-third of all the paper consumed in the United States and is committed to increasing that amount to 40 percent over the next three years.

Can the solid waste crisis be solved by recycling? No, not by recycling alone. Other alternatives can and must include source reduction, composting, and incineration—in addition to landfilling. Each avenue has its pluses and minuses and the long-term solution will be some thoughtful utilization of all these alternatives.

Should you separate your trash? No doubt. And should you consider using recycled paper? Sure, but not to save trees. The rallying cry, though admittedly a little awkward, should be "Help Solve the Landfill Crisis!"



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AMERICAN NOTES

SAN FRANCISCO

Shift to the Right

When he was elected mayor of San Francisco in 1987, Art Agnos described himself as an outsider who would shake up city



Mayor-elect Frank Jordan

hall. Four years later, he finds himself on the outside again. Last week the liberal Agnos was defeated in his bid for a second term by former police chief Frank Jordan, a self-described moderate with little patience for the city's high-profile populations of homeless people and

panhandlers. Jordan got 52% of the vote.

Jordan benefited from a coalition of blue-collar and rich voters-peevish that under Agnos the city seemed more interested in declaring itself a sanctuary for Desert Storm war resisters than in keeping Market Street clean. Long delays in repairing free-ways damaged in the 1989 earthquake, while not attributable to Agnos, did not help his image. Meanwhile, increasingly militant posturing by activist gays—a key group of Agnos supporters—sent more conventional voters scurrying to Jordan's camp. The final blows for Agnos were a sputtering economy and fewer dollars to spend on costly social programs such as caring

for AIDS victims.

Those problems will not vanish before Jordan takes over in January. But his victory showed that even in one of the nation's most liberal cities, competent management is more important to voters than political correctness. ■

THE MILITARY

Keeping the Navy Straight

Though the Pentagon's own studies raise doubts about the policy, the armed forces have long banned homosexuals, arguing that they undermine morale and could be vulnerable to blackmail. Last week U.S. District Judge Oliver Gasch came up with a new reason for excluding them in a ruling upholding the U.S. Naval Academy's treatment of Joseph Steffan, who was forced to resign in 1987 after his



Ex-midshipman Steffan

commanders heard he was gay. It was the need to protect soldiers and sailors from AIDS.

The services already screen all personnel and recruits for the AIDS virus and reject applicants who test positive. And Defense Department lawyers did not raise the AIDS issue in arguing the academy's case. Steffan's attorney, Paula Ettelbrick, said Gasch "reached out to grasp some other rationale" for barring homosexuals because the old anti-gay arguments had lost credibility. Gasch made his attitude clear during a hearing, when he called Steffan a "homo." ■



After a gutter-level campaign, Mayor-elect Lanier celebrates victory

HOUSTON

Nasty, Brutish—And Effective

Houston's mayoral race started with a debate over crime and a proposed monorail but ended in the gutter. After voters ousted incumbent Kathy Whitmire in last month's primary, the runoff between developer Bob Lanier, 66, and state legislator Sylvester Turner, 37, turned squalid. Lanier ads por-

trayed Turner, trying to become the city's first black mayor, as soft on crime and entangled in insurance fraud.

Turner denied the charges, accusing Lanier of "trying to tell Houston that a black man just isn't good enough!" But his delinquent loans and unpaid debts repelled voters. Lanier won the Dec. 7 election with 54% of the vote. Now he must get back to the crime and transportation issues he addressed before he hit the low road. ■



A big check to a career criminal led to the film GoodFellas

SUPREME COURT

Approving the Wages of Sin

In 1981 Simon & Schuster agreed to pay career criminal Henry Hill \$100,000 for telling author Nicholas Pileggi about life inside the Mafia. The resulting book, *Hickey*, became a best seller and the basis for the hit movie *GoodFellas*. But New York State's highest court ruled that the payment to Hill violat-

ed the 1977 "Son of Sam" law, so named for the pseudonym of serial killer David Berkowitz. Designed to keep crooks from cashing in on their crimes, the measure required that any earnings from selling their stories be used to compensate their victims. Last week the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the law, holding that it violated the First Amendment's freedom of speech provision. Similar laws in 41 other states could also be overturned. ■

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT TO
TIME

From the pages of the
Little, Brown book

The Meaning of Life

by David Friend
and the Editors of

LIFE

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THE DALAI LAMA
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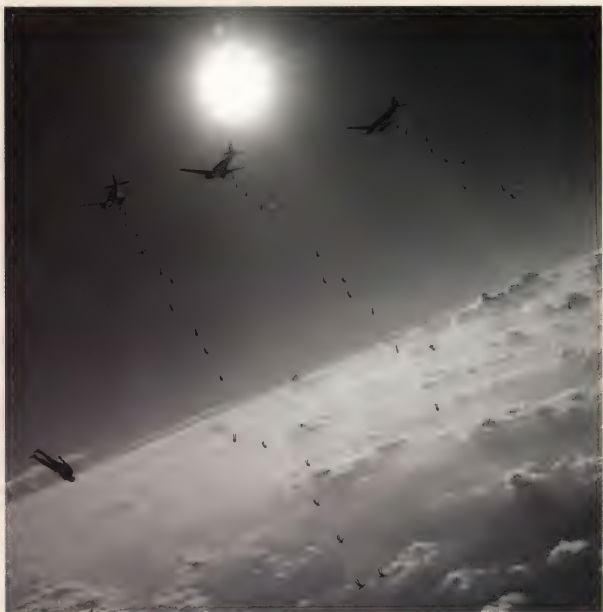
Ken Heyman
SICILY

(Cover)
Arthur Tress
MOSQUE IN AGRA, INDIA

From the
pages of
the Little,
Brown book

**The
Meaning
Of
Life**

by David Friend
and the editors
of LIFE



Thomas Sanders
FORTY-THREE PARACHUTISTS
SOMEWHERE OVER ILLINOIS

From the
pages of
the Little,
Brown book

**The
Meaning
Of
Life**

by David Friend
and the editors
of LIFE

While we exist as human beings, we are like tourists on holiday. If we play havoc and cause disturbance, our visit is meaningless. If during our short stay—100 years at most—we live peacefully, help others and, at the very least, refrain from harming or upsetting them, our visit is worthwhile. What is important is to see how we can best lead a meaningful everyday life, how we can bring about peace and harmony in our minds, how we can help contribute to society.

Scientists speak about evolutionary changes and about how the human body can further evolve. Buddhism also describes the natural evolution of the human body. According to Buddhism there are a limitless number of universes. It is we who are dependent on this Great Triple Thousand World System, rather than our affecting its course. In this vastness, can we ever know why we are here? From the Buddhist point of view, our consciousness has the potential to know every object. Because of obstructions we are, at present, unable to know everything. However, by removing these obstructions gradually, it is ultimately possible to know everything.

Those who believe in the theory of rebirth would say that we are here because of our own past actions. It can also be said that the essence of life is the search for happiness and the fulfillment of one's desires. All living beings strive to sustain their lives so that they might achieve happiness. As to why the self, wishing for happiness, came into being, Buddhism answers: This self has existed from beginningless time. It has no end but for it to ultimately achieve full enlightenment.

The Dalai Lama,

winner of the Nobel Peace Prize,
is the exiled spiritual
leader of Tibetan Buddhism

Our purpose is to consciously, deliberately evolve toward a wiser, more liberated and luminous state of being; to return to Eden, make friends with the snake and set up our computers among the wild apple trees.

Deep down, all of us are probably aware that some kind of mystical evolution is our true task. Yet we suppress the notion with considerable force because to admit it is to admit that most of our political gyrations, religious dogmas, social ambitions and financial ploys are not merely counterproductive but trivial. Our mission is to jettison those pointless preoccupations and take on once again the primordial cargo of inexhaustible ecstasy. Or, barring that, to turn out a good, juicy cheeseburger and a strong glass of beer.

Tom Robbins,

novelist, wrote *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues*

The Old Testament Book of Micah answers the question of why we are here with another question: "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

We are here to witness the creation and to abet it. We are here to notice each thing so each thing gets noticed. Together we notice not only each mountain shadow and each stone on the beach but, especially, we notice the beautiful faces and complex natures of each other. We are here to bring to consciousness the beauty and power that are around us and to praise the people who are here with us. We witness our generation and our times. We watch the weather. Otherwise, creation would be playing to an empty house.

According to the second law of thermodynamics, things fall apart. Structures disintegrate. Buckminster Fuller hinted at a reason we are here: By creating things, by thinking up new combinations, we counteract this flow of entropy. We make new structures, new wholenesses, so the universe comes out even. A shepherd on a hilltop who looks at a mess of stars and thinks, "There's a hunter, a plow, a fish," is making mental connections that have as much real force in the universe as the very fires in those stars themselves.

Annie Dillard,

Pulitzer Prize-winning essayist,
poet and teacher, is the author of
Pilgrim at Tinker Creek

I was born in the South, fifty years after slavery, when racial segregation was legally enforced. I listened to my grandparents talk of their lives as slave children and was aware of the Ku Klux Klan's activity in our community after World War I. Racial pride and self-dignity were emphasized in my family and community because of the seeming insecurities and concerted efforts of many whites to make blacks feel and act inferior to them. I was, therefore, determined to achieve the total freedom that our history lessons taught us we were entitled to, no matter what the sacrifice.

Human beings are set apart from the animals. We have a spiritual self, a physical self and a conscience. Therefore, we can make choices and are responsible for the choices we make. We may choose order and peace, or confusion and chaos. If we choose the former, we may cultivate and share our talents with others. If we choose the latter, we will isolate and segregate others. We can also expand our vision to include the universe and the diversity of its people, or we can remain narrow and shallow and isolate those who are unfamiliar.

To this day I believe we are here on earth to live, grow up and do what we can to make this world a better place for all people to enjoy freedom. Differences of race, nationality or religion should not be used to deny any human being citizenship rights or privileges. Life is to be lived to its fullest so that death is just another chapter. Memories of our lives, our works and our deeds will continue in others.

Rosa Parks

pioneered the U.S.
civil rights movement

Why are we here? There wasn't another place. But we are working on it.

What is the meaning of LIFE? It depends on your subscription.

Robert Rauschenberg,

modern art innovator, is a painter,
sculptor, collagist and printmaker.

WHY SHOULD SAFETY BE AN OPTION IN A NEW LUXURY SEDAN? It is ironic that while most luxury sedans offer a seemingly endless array of standard amenities, they still relegate safety features like dual air bags to the options list. If they're even available. ☞ Fortunately, there is an exception to this rule. The new Mazda 929. For along with all the prerequisites of uncommon comfort and performance, the 929 also provides



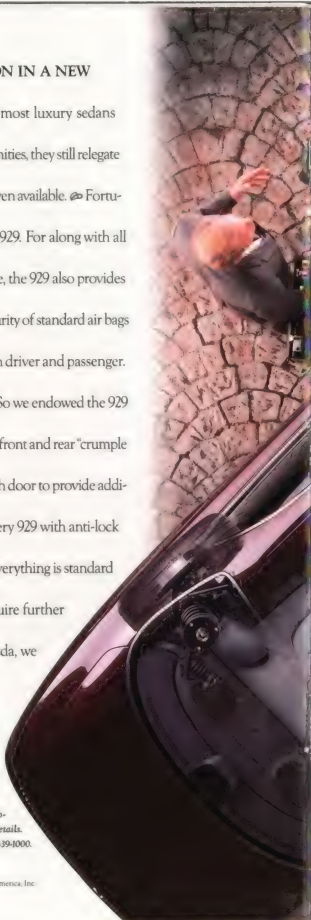
the security of standard air bags for both driver and passenger.

☞ And our concern with safety went far beyond air bags. So we endowed the 929 with a computer-designed body that has energy-absorbing front and rear "crumple zones." We positioned a special reinforcement beam in each door to provide additional protection from side impacts. And we provided every 929 with anti-lock brakes, also standard. ☞ Of course, this is not to say that everything is standard on the new 929 luxury sedan. In fact, for those who require further enhancements, there is a brief list of options. But at Mazda, we simply didn't believe that safety should be on it.

THE MAZDA 929

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*Seats upholstered in leather except for back side of front seats, bottom cushion side panels and other minor areas. © 1991 Mazda Motor of America, Inc.





mazda
It Just Feels Right





It's really a lot less complicated than we usually think. Life is playfulness. Children know this. That's why they spend so much of their time playing. They are aware of wonder. Adults often need help remembering how to play. We need to play so that we can rediscover the magic all around us.

Looking back, I remember the clouds becoming animals. I remember the moon following me home. There was the time I painted a picture of a sun-shower and was told by my teacher that there was no such thing. What did she know anyway? I had walked barefoot in one. There were countless animals and each one knew how to talk to me. The flowers sang songs that the birds answered. The trees whispered to anyone who would listen. And the rocks both kept and told secrets. They had to be brought home, of course. Every day there was at least one thing to laugh at. Usually there were many.

Hardships help us discover our inner strengths and resources. But we can summon the courage to look at them as opportunities to grow and learn. That's part of life's magic. If we appreciate and respect the children that we were, the spirit of the child within each of us can emerge.

Flora Colao,

social worker, specializes
in child-abuse treatment

Alfred Eisenstaedt

PUPPET SHOW, "THE DRAGON IS SLAIN"

From the
pages of
the Little,
Brown book

The
Meaning
of
Life

by David Friend
and the editors
of LIFE



Tui De Roy

LAND IGUANA AND VOLCANIC CALDERA,
GALAPAGOS ISLANDS

Since age two I've been waltzing up and down with the question of life's meaning. And I am obliged to report that the answer changes from week to week. When I know the answer, I know it absolutely; as soon as I know that I know it, I know that I know nothing. About seventy percent of the time my conclusion is that there is a grand design. I believe that the force that created life is betting that human beings will do something quite wonderful—like live up to their potential. I am influenced largely by Blaise Pascal and his wager. Pascal advises us to bet on the toss of a coin that God is. If we win, we win eternity. If we lose, we lose nothing.

I'm looking out a large window now and I see about forty dogwood and maple and oak and locust trees and the light is on some of the leaves and it's so beautiful. Sometimes I'm overcome with gratitude at such sights and feel that each of us has a responsibility for being alive: one responsibility to creation, of which we are a part, another to the creator—a debt we repay by trying to extend our areas of comprehension.

Maya Angelou,

writer and actress, is the author of
I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings.

We human beings are only one small part of creation. Sometimes we act as if we were the whole rather than merely a part of creation. There are other worlds besides the human world. The plant world and the animal world are equally important parts of this creation.

The meaning of life is to live in balance and harmony with every other living thing in creation. We must all strive to understand the interconnectedness of all living things and accept our individual role in the protection and support of other life forms on earth. We must also understand our own insignificance in the totality of things.

Wilma Mankiller,

chief of the Cherokee Nation, is the first
woman to lead a large Native American tribe

From the
pages of
the Little,
Brown book

The
Meaning
of
Life

by David Friend
and the editors
of LIFE

George Burns

Kenny Rogers

Natalie Cole

Erma Bombeck

Garth Brooks

Oprah Winfrey

Jimmy Connors

Quincy Jones

Marlee Matlin

Hammer

George Foreman

Betty White

For The Meaning Of Life, Watch The Stars.

Gaze into your TV at 10 PM on Friday evening, December 27, and, if it's tuned to CBS, you could walk away a little wiser. Because for one whole hour, you'll see a fascinating variety of people from all walks of life answering the question that's been around for 25,000 years: What

is the meaning of life? From the inspiring to the shocking, it's an unprecedented exploration of human feelings. Don't miss this *LIFE* television special, *Mazda Presents The Meaning of Life*. You never know. Maybe the stars will shed a little light on your life.



A  TELEVISION SPECIAL, 10 PM EST/PST, 9 PM CENTRAL, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27 ON CBS 

Based on the book *The Meaning of Life*, created by David Friend and the editors of  © 1991 Mazda Motor of America, Inc.

"Free Speech Is Life Itself"

On a clandestine visit to the U.S., his first since he was sentenced to death by Khomeini for writing *The Satanic Verses*, **SALMAN RUSHDIE** pleads not to be forgotten

By KARSTEN PRAGER

Q. For more than 1,000 days, you have been under an all-points death sentence. What's it like to live like that?

A. Oddly, I don't that often feel afraid, although the first few days were very scary. But at some point I thought to myself, "If I spend my time being afraid and worried about where the bullet's going to come from, then I'm really going to go crazy." And then I said to myself, "I've got the best protection the British government can offer—it's their job to worry about that. It's not my job." That was a kind of mental trick. What I had to worry about was mentally dealing with the threat and arguing my case and continuing to be what I am.

Q. And that worked most of the time?

A. Yes, I won't say there aren't moments when the other breaks through, because there obviously are. But by and large, day to day, it works.

Q. How often have you moved?

A. I haven't kept an exact count. There's a kind of legend around how I get moved every few days. It's never been as bad as that.

Q. But more than a couple of dozen times?

A. Oh, it's been a lot of places, sometimes for a few days, sometimes for longer periods. I've seen a great deal of Britain I'd never seen before. Where there are wide-open spaces, it's possible for me to get out and go for walks.

What I've tried to do is take very slow steps back toward as much of life as I can sensibly have. And that's a matter of instinct and judgment and discussion; the less said about it the better. But from the beginning I have felt the one thing that would be very dangerous to me would be to become an institutionalized prisoner, to give up control of my life to the people whose job it is to look after me. That's why I have constantly pushed against the bars of the cage and tried to make it a bit bigger.

Q. What social life is left?

A. It's almost entirely telephonic. I call friends.

Q. Do you read?

A. I read. To an extent, I still lead a writer's life.

Q. So in that sense life has not changed?

A. All my adult life, if I didn't have several hours a day to sit in a room by myself, I would get antsy and irritable. Now, that particular part of the day has spread to kill the whole day. I used to like the contrast between doing the work and getting out and having a very sociable life. So that's gone. And that's a real, obvious loss.

Q. Who takes care of your daily needs?

A. I can cook. And I have access to washing machines and dishwashers. Of course, I'm leading my life in premises that also contain armed policemen.

Q. Your own extended family?

A. Well, we get on very well. I'd never thought I would be in a situation where I'd have a lot of friends in the secret police. But we have shaped a relationship of mutual respect.

Q. How about your son?

A. Clearly, I miss him a lot. I wrote a book for him in this time because it was just about the only thing I could do for him. A lot of the normal requirements a child would have of his father I've been unable to discharge. I talk to him every day by telephone. But it's a huge deprivation, not just for me but for him. For the thing that has happened is also an assault on his rights.

Q. You say your marriage is over. Was that caused by your situation?

A. It didn't help, but it wasn't the critical factor. There were other things that went wrong.

Q. Let's turn to the political side. The Western hostages have been released. Does that help or hurt your cause?

A. It's a kind of knife edge, as I always thought it would be. Because to an extent I've been a hostage to the hostage situation. Whenever people have tried to make my case very public, to debate it very noisily, it has been suggested that to do so would be to prolong the hostages' plight. Now, since the hostages are out, I am able to speak more freely.

Q. What's the other side of the coin?

A. The thing I've worried about is that there would be the enormous and quite understandable desire among the public to say, "Thank God, it's all over." Somebody then piping up with "Excuse me, there's one more problem" might generate irritation. "Oh, God, we don't want to deal with that because it's finished, it's over, hurrah, let's have Christmas."

What I'm trying to say is, "It isn't quite the end."

Q. How did you feel when Britain resumed diplomatic relations with Iran last year and your case remained unresolved?

A. I had very mixed feelings. I would certainly have wished for a clear, overt public statement about the Rushdie case. No such statement was made, apart from a vague statement about how Iran had agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of Britain. Unfortunately, a few months later there were



"I have constantly pushed against the bars of the cage and tried to make it a bit bigger."

very vociferous restatements of the threat from Iran, and the bounty money on my head was doubled.

Q. To \$3 million?

A. Well, \$2 million—a large amount. And then I heard about my Italian translator being knifed. I heard about my Japanese translator being murdered.

Q. What's your agenda during your U.S. visit?

A. People need to be reminded constantly that this is not a parochial issue. It's not about one writer of Third World origin in trouble with a Third World power. The publishing of a book is a worldwide event. The attempt to suppress a book is a worldwide event. This is not just about me.

Q. Your problem has to be solved at the political level?

A. Yes.

Q. But that might involve trade relations, arms deals, whatever? You expect to be part of some political equation?

A. It's not that I expect to become a part of it, but I am, whether I like it or not. The Iranian government is in breach of international law and at the same time is seeking to get closer to the West. As a citizen of Britain and of Europe, I can at least expect most countries and their allies to say to Iran, "If you wish to put your house in order, show us..."

Q. And Rushdie fits in there?

A. Yes. Both sides have a genuine interest in getting closer to the other. The West sees Iran as an important force in the gulf. Iran wishes to reconstruct its economy and play a fuller part in the community of nations—and that's legitimate. My part is a tiny part in that equation—it's big for me, but it's a tiny part.

Q. Do you ever feel like giving up?

A. Certainly. There were very long periods of time when I thought I would never write again. What was the point of it anyway? I'd simply written a novel—a 500-page, complicated, literary novel that insulted even people who hadn't read it. You expect a debate, or a dispute, or an argument—that seems to me an entirely legitimate function of art. What you don't expect is an attempt to intimidate the book's publishers and murder the book's author.

Q. Last year you embraced Islam. Why?

A. I believe there needs to be a secular way of being a Muslim. There are plenty of people in the Muslim world who feel exactly like that—an identity with culture and values—but who are not believers in the theology. That was what I was trying to say, or I would've said it if anybody had listened hard enough. But immediately I was called either a traitor to my own cause or a hypocrite.

Q. What if political pressure does not work? Are you living with a life sentence?

A. I don't want even to contemplate what you suggest because I don't believe the situation is as bleak as that. But the fact is I'm not going to accept it forever.

Q. You've said free speech is life itself. Has it been worth fighting for?

A. Yes, it has. Yes, it has. Clearly, nobody wants such an incredible distortion of one's daily life; in fact, nothing else will happen in my life of remotely this magnitude.

But at least it's the right plight. At least it's about what I believe most deeply in. And therefore it's possible to fight for it. At least the fight is about the right thing. ■

A Patch of Hope for Smokers

Doctors will soon begin prescribing a new nicotine device that can help people stay off cigarettes for good

Smoking is complex. Just ask the 50 million Americans who continue to do it despite abundant evidence that as a diversion its safety ranks somewhere between bungee jumping and Russian roulette. For the past decade, addiction researchers have struggled to sort through the tangle of biological urges and psychological cravings that stir people to light up, in an attempt to develop better ways to kick the habit. That effort is finally beginning to bear fruit.

Over the next few months, four drug companies will introduce similar versions of the transdermal nicotine patch, a palm-size circular envelope that, when applied to the upper arm or back every 24 hours, releases a steady stream of nicotine into the blood. A study in last week's *Journal of the American Medical Association* found that the patch, when administered with proper counseling, doubled the odds that smokers will successfully quit over a six-month period. "It's a major breakthrough in medicine by any measure. It could save thousands of lives," said Dr. Jack Henningfield, chief of clinical pharmacology at the National Institute on Drug Abuse.

The idea of using pure nicotine to help smokers stop was first tried in the mid-1980s with the nicotine-laced chewing gum Nicorette. The drug provides relief from the symptoms of physical withdrawal—



Nicotine is absorbed through the skin

anxiety, difficulty concentrating—so that people can focus on the behavioral side of their addiction. But Nicorette has proved disappointing, largely because heavy smokers have trouble getting a sufficient dose to match their craving. In addition, the gum can cause soreness in the mouth and upset stomach. Patches overcome

these shortcomings by steadily pumping the drug directly into the bloodstream. After a month of daily use, ex-smokers wean themselves from the nicotine by applying successively smaller patches.

But experts caution that the device will work only when combined with counseling, which should include advice on setting a "quit date" and on coping with the urges that will persist even with the patch in place. Unfortunately, physicians have a poor record in this regard. Less than half of 2,700 smokers surveyed for a study in last week's *Journal* said their doctors had ever advised them to kick the habit or even to cut down.

Moreover, scientists are only beginning to understand the factors that drive cigarette addiction. A smoker can take a million puffs during a lifetime, and each of those becomes indelibly linked with a particular activity—drinking coffee, talking on the phone, driving. In his recent book, *Smoking: The Artificial Passion*, David Krogh writes, "Addiction and attachment, pharmacology and behavior, personality, culture and genetics all chase each other around like a cat after its own tail when we start to consider the issue of why people smoke."

Inevitably, the new patch will not be able to cure most smokers. According to last week's report, 26% of those wearing the device actually succeeded in abstaining for six months, as opposed to 12% of those using a placebo patch. Still, for smokers the choice seems clear: a 1 in 4 chance of quitting successfully, or the same odds of dying of a tobacco-related disease if they do not.

—By Andrew Purvis

Camels for Kids

Not since Bullwinkle has a big-nosed cartoon character been so cool—or blundered his way into so much trouble. But Joe Camel is no ordinary creation. Conceived as a cross between Don Johnson and James Bond, the self-proclaimed "smooth character" found in Camel cigarette ads has, in the past three years, thrust the brand toward the top of the charts among the spring-break set.

Trouble is, Joe seems to be too suave for his own good. According to three studies published in last week's *Journal of the American Medical Association*, the debonair dromedary captures the fancy of more children than young adults. The authors allege that illegal sales of Camels to minors have skyrocketed from \$6 million to \$476 million a year, accounting for one-quarter of the brand's sales. Last week the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association and the American Lung Association called for a ban on all advertising or promotions that feature the radical ruminant.

The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. vehemently denies the allegations. "We can track 98% of Camel sales, and they're not going to youngsters," says David Fishel, a company spokes-

man. "It's simply not in our best interest for young people to smoke, because that opens the door for the government to interfere with our product."

In the first study, involving 229 preschool children, researchers at the Medical College of Georgia determined that, by age six, children recognize Joe as readily as they do Mickey Mouse. Meanwhile, adults—the stated target of the ads—show a much lower recognition level. By high school, according to the second study, nearly half the students say they think Joe "is cool." The third study looked at 5,040 California teenagers, ages 12 to 17, and found that Camels' increasing popularity with the 131 smokers among them paralleled the buildup of the Joe Camel ad campaign. "The fact is that the ad is reaching kids, and it is changing their behavior," says Georgia's Dr. John Richards, who worked on the first two studies.



A Lesson in Compassion

What's it like to be a patient? For more and more aspiring doctors, there's only one way to find out.

By ANASTASIA TOUFEXIS

Ellen Weiss can hardly see. David Schmitt can barely hear. Together, the elderly woman, who suffers from diabetes, congestive heart failure and arthritis, and the widower, who is recovering from a hip fracture, slowly shift through the halls of Hunterdon Medical Center in Flemington, N.J. Typical victims of aging's cruelest blows? Not really. Weiss is actually a resident in family practice, age 30, and Schmitt a medical student, 26. They have been assigned roles, ages and infirmities as an innovative part of their medical training.

Introduced in only a few medical centers so far, such role playing is designed to expose doctors to the anguish endured by the infirm. It is just one of several techniques being tried at U.S. medical schools and hospitals in an attempt to deal with the most universal complaint about doctors: lack of compassion. "Residents are usually young, healthy, privileged," says Dr. Stephen Brunton of Long Beach Memorial Medical Center in Long Beach, Calif. "They've not really had a chance to understand what patients go through."

Role-playing programs give them a crash course. At Hunterdon, students' faces are instantly aged with cornstarch and makeup. Next the disabilities are laid on; yellow goggles smeared with Vaseline distort vision, wax plugs dampen hearing, gloves and splints cripple fingers, and pens inside shoes impair walking. Then the ersatz invalids are asked to perform common tasks: purchasing medication at the pharmacy, undressing for X rays, filling out a Medicare form and, most humiliating, using the bathroom.

At Long Beach, new residents in family practice assume fabricated maladies and check into the hospital for an overnight stay—incognito. The staff treats them as they would any other patient, even sending them a bill. The entire entering class of medical students at the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences in Bethesda, Md., are issued bedpans and told to use them. They spend part of the first day of school as hobbled patients. A

few male students are even subjected to an indignity familiar to women: waiting in the stirrups for a doctor to arrive.

Instant patients start out peppy and joking. "But by the end of a few hours, most say, 'I'm exhausted,'" observes nurse Linda Bryant at Hunterdon. Schmitt discovered that "a major accomplishment was doing up my collar." And, to his surprise, "I wound up resenting physicians who didn't realize how much medication would cost and how hard it was to go and pick it up." Weiss also

Simon Auster at the Uniformed Services medical school. Moreover, he says, "it takes less energy to get close to a patient than to maintain a distance." Auster warns, however, that caring should not be confused with wallowing in soppy feelings with patients or adopting an appealing bedside manner. "That's superficial charm," he declares, as opposed to the more difficult task of grappling with the painful emotional issues in medicine.

To lure more caring individuals to the field, schools are seeking older students as well as non-science majors. Reformers are also revising the curriculum to place more emphasis on how to relate to patients. Some schools have engaged actors to portray patients—some of them ornery or withdrawn—whom students must then interview and counsel. At Duke

University's medical school in North Carolina, Melanie Wellington had a tough time with "Tom Brown," a black man in his 50s, whose dietary habits were contributing to high blood pressure. "Brown" said he didn't want to be treated with drugs because medication had ruined his brother's sex life. Says Wellington: "The biggest problem was my own discomfort," particularly when it came to asking him about his sexual history and possible drug abuse, which drew hostile responses. "Now I preface my interviews with, 'These are questions we ask everyone. We need the answers to take the best care of you.'"

Such educational experiments are not a panacea, but already they are yielding

some symptomatic relief for patients. At Long Beach, the residents' experiences as patients-for-a-day have prompted administrators to accelerate the hospital's admissions process; it now takes 15 minutes or less. Other results are harder to measure but just as significant. Robert Stambaugh admits that he felt "self-conscious and silly" during his brief stint impersonating a patient at Uniformed Services. But two years later, he drew on the experience to summon up sympathy for an obstreperous patient whose brain had been injured in a car accident. "He'd throw bedpans, pull out catheters and verbally abuse everyone," Stambaugh recalls. As the student doctor who had to repeatedly replace the catheters, he was tempted to blow his own top. "On reflection, though," he says, "I recognized that the patient was scared to death, confused and had lost a great deal of his dignity. That was what made me able to deal with him."

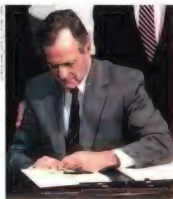


Instant invalids Schmitt and Weiss haltingly make the hospital rounds

had an epiphany: "I realized how little I talk to patients. I might ask them about chest pains but not 'Can you get dressed, eat O.K., take your medicine?'" At Long Beach, Jeffrey Ortiz thought he was in for a quiet rest when he was sent to the intensive care unit, suffering from "chest pains." Instead he spent a sleepless night: "People were coming in to do labs, the man in the next bed was groaning, and the heart monitor was beeping. It was noisy and scary."

Any patient could have told him so, but many educators believe the direct experience of such miseries will leave an enduring sense of sympathy. Doctors have long defended taking a cool, dispassionate approach to patient care, arguing that it helps preserve objective judgment and protect against burnout. But critics disagree. "By concentrating on symptoms and lab data, we ignore a wealth of information that can affect patients' well-being," observes Dr.

Business



THE ECONOMY

Now This Idea Is—Shh!—O.K.

Pinned down by the recession, Bush embraces a once-shunned notion—“industrial policy”—to stem the nation’s shrinking technological edge

By **MICHAEL DUFFY** WASHINGTON

In Ronald Reagan’s White House, there was no greater sin than to suggest that America could improve its competitiveness by stoking private industry with federal money. Reagan’s free-market economists launched search-and-destroy missions whenever such “industrial policy” proposals were floated in Washington. Never mind that many strategic industries in Japan and Europe, boosted at crucial moments by government support, were winning market share from their American counterparts. Reagan’s opposition to industrial policy was so fierce that the expression itself had become politically incorrect by the decade’s end. During the 1988 campaign, George Bush derided such policy as a foolish “Democratic” approach that usually resulted in wasted taxpayer money, commercial failure or both.

Today Bush and his aides are singing a much different carol. Industrial-policy initiatives that were being moved almost stealthily through the federal bureaucracy have suddenly been brought front and center, with Bush himself acting as emcee. Last week the President signed the High Performance Computing Act of 1991, which authorizes eight federal agencies to spend \$638 million to develop hardware and software for a teraflop computer capable of performing 1 trillion computations a second. The same day, Energy Secretary James Watkins announced that the government’s 726 national laboratories—facilities that spend more than \$20 billion annually, mostly on weapons research—will now be available for joint research projects with private businesses. “U.S. taxpayers made a heavy investment in defense R. and D. during the cold war period,” said Watkins. “Now it is time to start paying them economic as well as strategic dividends.”

Still defensive about any departure from Reaganite thinking, Bush and his aides deny that the government is med-

dling in the marketplace. Explained departing White House chief of staff John Sununu: “I don’t know what to call it. But there are ways of getting federal support into systems in an efficient way in which financial and technological competitiveness are not stifled.” Another Administration official was more direct: “Don’t call it ‘industrial policy,’” he pleaded. “Call it ‘George Bush’s Incredibly Forward-Looking Applied Research-and-Development Initiatives.’”

Or just call it pragmatic. As the economy sputters and fears grow that U.S. technological prowess is fading, the President and his advisers seem to have undergone an overnight conversion that was actually about a year in the making. The shift has an unmistakable back-to-the-future quality about it. During Bush’s first two years in office, his aides sheltered the free-market flame by batting away several internal proposals to put federal money on the line for emerging technologies. Several senior officials who tried to steer federal help to strategic American industries were quietly relieved of their duties (most notably, former Pentagon technologist Craig Fields). Led by the free-trade triumvirate of Sununu, chief economic adviser Michael Boskin and Budget Director Richard Darman, the White House argued that market forces, rather than government, could best determine which technologies made it from the lab to the shopping mall.

What led to the change of heart was the speed with which some of America’s most vaunted industries—computers, semiconductors and commercial aircraft—have lost domestic and worldwide market share to Japanese and European rivals. America’s technological edge—its insurance policy against economic decline—has been narrowing. Flush with cash, Japan has outspent the U.S. on investment and research, devoting nearly 3% of economic

spending to nondefense research, while American R. and D. spending remained under 2%. Four Japanese companies—Hitachi, Toshiba, Canon and Fuji—each captured more American patents in 1989 than any single U.S. firm. Predicts William Archey, senior vice president for policy at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce: “We haven’t even begun to see the products of that investment.”

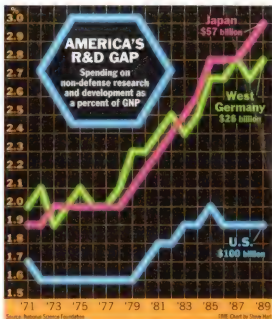
In the fiscal-1992 budget he submitted last February, Bush boosted spending for basic research 13%, but most federal R. and D. dollars still go into weapons development, which yields few mass-market spin-offs. In the past year, the warnings about that imbalance have grown starker. As the Office of Technology Assessment stated in a blunt report in October, “If there are no major changes in government policies of developed nations, we expect U.S. manufacturing competitiveness to continue to sink, compared with Japan.”

Nor is Japan the only contender. Last month McDonnell Douglas agreed to sell 40% of its commercial-jet manufacturing operations to a company owned partly by the government of Taiwan. In doing so, McDonnell Douglas cited competition from Airbus, the subsidized European aircraft consortium. Once it’s rolling, the deal could cloud one of the few bright spots in America’s economic picture: the \$16 billion trade surplus in commercial aircraft. “It’s a classic example of what’s wrong,” said New Mexico’s Democratic Senator Jeff Bingaman. “Much of the technology that McDonnell Douglas is selling was developed with American taxpayer dollars. Our government won’t support the company, so it has to look to the government of Taiwan.”

Bingaman and others on Capitol Hill have urged the White House to identify critical technologies and invest prudently in each one. The problem for the Administration has been how to change tack without appearing to double back on the Rea-



PRECIOUS MATERIALS At Lawrence Livermore, a federal lab that is cooperating with industry, a worker bakes a blend of ceramic and metal



CLEAN POWER With federal help, the Big Three will develop batteries to power cars like GM's Impact

gonaut course. After repeated nudges from his friends in business, Bush groped his way toward a middle-ground policy in which the government would join with private industry to help "precompetitive, generic technology." By restricting federal financing to investment in broad technologies in the early stages of development, rather than products ready for commercial exploitation, the White House insists that it can refrain from "picking winners and losers" among specific companies.

At a largely unnoticed South Lawn ceremony in October, Bush quietly welcomed industrial policy back to the White House. Flanked by representatives from Detroit's Big Three automakers, the nation's electrical utilities and officials from the Energy Department, Bush signed an agreement committing the government to a three-year, \$260 million collaborative search for a small, lightweight battery to power electric cars. Calling the consortium "an idea whose time has come," Bush added, "Electric vehicles represent the next technology milestone in the auto industry, and we intend to beat our competitors to that milestone."

America's automakers realized last

year that none of the Big Three had the resources to invent on its own the car battery of the future, explains John Wallace, director of electric vehicles for Ford. But each company had at least one poorly funded battery research project under way, which, if linked with the others, could be coordinated to eliminate overlap and speed a breakthrough. So Ford, GM and Chrysler joined forces and asked the government to match their efforts dollar for dollar. "We agreed to cooperate on batteries," added Wallace, "but compete on vehicles."

Some industrial leaders are underwhelmed by the Administration's helping hand. "It is so little, so wimpy," complains Andrew Grove, president of the semiconductor giant Intel. The Hudson Institute, a conservative think tank, proposes that Washington create a new federal science-and-technology agency that would coordinate the government's widely scattered \$76 billion annual investment in R. and D. and make industry a partner at every level. "What we have now," says Hudson fellow Robert Costello, a former Pentagon official, "is a flea going up against an elephant, but the flea is growing."

Yet, as the economy staggers, Bush can be expected to move increasingly in Costello's direction. Next month the President will decide whether to double funds for the Commerce Department's advanced technology office, which dispenses grants to companies for promising technological breakthroughs. Meanwhile, Administration officials are examining the possibility of reinstating the Investment Tax Credit, killed in 1986, to boost private investment in research as well as new plant and equipment. "I want to emphasize," said Energy chief Watkins, "that this concept of a new partnership between government and industry is not about government attempting to substitute its judgment for that of experienced businessmen and free markets. It is about U.S. economic growth."

It's also about politics. Funding for basic research won't provide any quick fixes for the current recession. But at a time when Bush will have difficulty administering short-term economic remedies, notably any major tax cuts or spending increases, the President has good reason to be a visible advocate of any policy that improves the prospects for American's long-term economic future.

MARKETING

Ghosts in the Commercial

Computer wizardry brings new life to some old stars in Diet Coke's ads

Among the 100 or so actors wandering about a ritzy night spot in the latest TV commercial for Diet Coke are three with a very unusual item on their resumes: they're dead. Their faces are immediately recognizable. But just how Humphrey Bogart, Louis Armstrong and James Cagney were resurrected to shill for a soft drink with living songman Elton John is the story of "Nightclub"—60 seconds of inspired flackery that since its first airing two days before Thanksgiving, has become one of the most talked-about TV commercials of the year.

"Nightclub" is the creation of Lintas New York, the ad agency that has handled the Diet Coke account since the product was introduced in 1982. Ten months ago, Lintas launched an effort to reinvigorate its "Just for the taste of it" campaign, at least partly in response to rival Diet Pepsi's "Uhhuh" ads, which feature the full-throated voice of Ray Charles declaiming the now familiar slogan. By last spring, creative director Tony DeGregorio and his staff had settled on a new theme for Diet Coke: "There's just one." What they needed was advertising to go with it. By summer, Lintas got the go-ahead from client Coca-Cola for



Cagney: extracted from a 1930s movie to shill for a soft drink

a spot featuring Elton John performing before an audience sprinkled with the actual images of famous Golden Age movie stars, courtesy of the latest in special effects.

DeGregorio's staff sat through more than 100 American films, looking for a few seconds of classic footage that could blend into the new Elton John material. The script for "Nightclub" was fashioned around the final choices: Bogie in *All Through the Night* (1942), Satchmo in *High Society* (1956) and Cagney in snippets from *Public Enemy* (1931) and *The Roaring Twenties* (1939). Director Steve Horn shot the Elton John nightclub footage with the same lenses used during the classic film period, but with live stand-ins for Cagney and company. The footage was taken to R. Greenberg Associates, who edited

Woody Allen into old film footage in his 1983 movie *Zelig*. Through a process called "rotoscoping," technicians isolated the images of Bogart, Armstrong and Cagney from the vintage movie clips. Then the legendary stars were computer-stitched into the contemporary nightclub scene.

The work was painstaking. Cagney was shorter than the modern blond actress with whom he is seen ordering a Diet Coke. So the editors blew up the image until his height matched that of his co-star. The Golden Age actors were carefully colorized from by

frame to match the hues of the fresh footage. In the stunning final product, Bogart wanders among the nightclub clientele, exchanging greetings with a patron probably not even born when Bogie died in 1957. Louis Armstrong blows away on his trumpet, sharing a knowing glance with Elton John.

But not everyone is swept up in the excitement. A review in the trade publication *Advertising Age*, while admiring the special effects, argues that the commercial's hyperkinetic promotional jingle "obscures the lyrics and thus also the explanation for why—apart from sheer gee-whizzardry—Cagney, Satchmo and Bogart are resurrected." In short, it's not enough for commercials to showcase creativity—they've got to move the goods as well. —By Michael Quinn

LABOR UNIONS

The Good Guy Finally Won

In a historic upset, the Teamsters elect a reforming president who promises that the days of Mob ties are over

When Ronald Carey declared that he would run for the presidency of the Teamsters Union two years ago, most labor experts considered the reform candidate a do-gooder with little chance of winning. A virtual unknown outside the New York City borough of Queens, where he heads a local chapter representing 6,600 truck drivers, Carey did not have the support of regional union officials. Moreover, his rivals outspent him 5 to 1.

Against all odds, Carey emerged victorious last week in the biggest election in U.S. labor history. Carey, 55, rolled up 49% of the vote to beat two insiders, including R.V. Durham,

the front runner, who had been hand-picked by the union's bosses and backed by a campaign war chest of \$2 million. Although only a quarter of the Teamsters' 1.6 million members participated in the vote, the first in which the rank and file was



Carey: revved up to clean up

allowed to vote directly for the president, many observers view the rebel Carey's upset victory as a solid mandate to clean house.

Besides being the largest private-sector union in the U.S., the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has also been the most Mob influenced. Three of its past five presidents were sentenced to prison. In 1988 the Justice Department hit the union with a racketeer-

ing lawsuit. To settle the case, the union agreed to let the government monitor day-to-day operations and organize a secret-ballot election. In the past, a small group of union insiders had chosen the Teamster president.

Carey vowed to rid the union of Mob influence. His most effective campaign poster showed three pigs with their snouts buried in a trough of dollar bills. It read, **THEY'RE FEASTING ON YOUR DUES**. Carey painted his opponents as part of "the Old Guard" that was controlled by mobsters. In his victory speech he reiterated his promise: "To those who think that the Mafia is in charge, the party's over." Carey's first order as union president was to cut the job's \$225,000 annual salary to \$175,000.

The Carey victory may signal a new round of union militancy. During his campaign, the former delivery driver for United Parcel Service tapped growing rank-and-file resentment by railing against union concessions to employers. The union, which has seen the real wages of its members decline during the 1980s, has been alone among big unions in endorsing Republican President. Carey says that policy will change. ■

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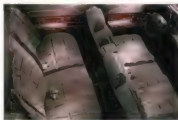
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Money Angles

Andrew Tobias

Marilyn, My Marilyn

Not that it's any surprise, *When Trises* sold for \$53.9 million in 1987, any fool could see the Gogh-Gogh years were drawing to a close. No, it was not the peak; three years later, Van Gogh's *Portrait of Dr. Gacher* brought \$82.5 million. But this is often the way it works, whether in the art market or any other—a long run-up and then a final speculative blow-off.

A generation earlier, in 1966, the Dow Jones first flirted with 1000. It would eventually climb a bit higher, and it would not touch bottom—577—until eight years later. But with hindsight, 1966 was really the beginning of the end.

I'm not suggesting we're in the midst of another eight-year decline, one that started in 1987—though if we are it's at least comforting to know we're halfway through it. But one sure sign it's a bear market in collectibles at least—whatever stocks may do—is that I recently got a call from a historic-documents salesman. When someone calls out of the blue to sell you Abe Lincoln autographs, you can be pretty sure times are tough in autograph land.

O.K., it wasn't entirely a cold call. Years earlier, at an investment conference, I had sauntered over to the Historic Documents booth (between Oil Drilling and Annuities) and had been struck by a remarkable letter from Darryl Zanuck to Marilyn Monroe. It was on 20th Century Fox letterhead, scolding Marilyn for her "completely impractical request" to have a special dialogue director work with her on the set of *Don't Bother to Knock* (a movie rated "don't bother to see"). "You have built up a Svengali," the letter read in part, "and if you are going to progress with your career and become as important talent-wise as you have publicity-wise then you must destroy this Svengali before it destroys you."

"How much?" I asked the booth person, pointing to the letter. "You're kidding!" I said, when she pointed to the price. But I left my name and address anyway, in case they ever got serious about selling it. (They were asking \$8,000. I was thinking more like \$300.)

That was years ago, but from then on I would periodically receive catalogs of historic documents. A group shot of Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan, autographed by each: \$4,000. A nice letter from George Washington: \$35,000. An autographed photo of Sitting Bull (signed "Sitting Bull"): \$17,500.

So it wasn't exactly a cold call, in that I had given this outfit my name once upon a time. And the caller wasn't exactly a college kid reading a script; he was a former curator of the Smithsonian. Still, I was getting all set to find some delicate way off the phone ("Oh, gosh, the ambulance is here") when I remembered the Marilyn letter. Forget Abe Lincoln ("Dear Sir; Herewith I send you my autograph, which you request. Yours Truly, A. Lincoln": \$5,000). What about Marilyn?

It seems this particular letter was indeed still available, and now its price was \$9,500. Bear in mind that this was not a letter from Marilyn Monroe, merely addressed to her (611 N. Crescent Drive, Beverly Hills), and that if it was still available, that meant nobody, apparently, had wanted it at \$8,000.

This gave me several ideas. The first was that if letters to famous people could acquire such value, I should myself write a ream of them to Madonna, which, when they came back stamped "insufficient address" (we've lost touch), I would save for my old age and then sell.

My second idea was to buy stock in News Corp., which

owns Fox, because so far Wall Street has focused only on the value of its film library. What about all its business correspondence? All those canceled checks? A gold mine!

My third idea was to haggle.

I won't tell you how much I wound up paying for my Marilyn letter because you'll think I'm a fool. (All right, I paid \$7,500—more than I've ever spent on a car.) And I won't tell you how I managed to get the price down even that little bit. (All right, as part of the deal, I agreed to buy a second item, for even more—a letter from Albert Einstein describing Hitler as a lunatic—and so got a little bit of a break on both.) But I will tell you that when novices like me get into markets they know nothing about, it's usually the beginning of the end.

So what are we to make of the fact that "small investors are trading more actively than any time since the 1987 crash," as



the *Wall Street Journal* reported last month? Could 1992 wind up being the worst stock market year of the '90s just as 1932, 1942, 1950, 1962, 1974 and 1982 were the worst years of their respective decades? In five of those six "worst years," F&C Investors notes, the Dow dropped well below its book value. The '60s were the exception: at its nadir, 536 in 1962, the Dow was 33% above book. But with today's Dow Jones at 2900 and its book value around 1330, if 1992 should prove to be one of those icky worst years—even one as relatively painless as 1962—it would drop more than 1000 points.

Of course, scary numbers can always be found. There are loads of good things that may fake out the pessimists: low interest rates, reasonable energy prices, world peace, free trade and fabulous technological progress for starters. So by no means should you read this and dump all your stocks, let alone start buying up signed photos of Sitting Bull.

But I do think you should pause before spurning the safety of a savings account or Treasury bill just because rates are low. Stocks are no bargain (though some fire-sale real estate may be). And I think that Albert Einstein, if not Marilyn Monroe, is likely to loom as large 1,000 years from now as Van Gogh. So given the choice between a little piece of Einstein for \$15,000 or a work by Van Gogh for \$15 million (and given \$15 million), I would opt for the Einstein, spend a further \$28 on socks (to give the economy a little boost) and invest the rest someplace safe.

BUSINESS NOTES

PINK SLIPS

Layoffs announced by major U.S. companies in 1993*

Company	Number of jobs	Percent of work force
Sears, Roebuck	33,000	7%
IBM	20,000	5%
Unisys	10,000	14%
TRW	10,000	14%
BankAmerica/Security Pacific*	10,000	11%

*Figures include similar and different companies.
*Includes pending charges.

EMPLOYMENT

It's Off the Job We Go

Never mind that Christmas is fast approaching. Many American companies have decided they can wait no longer to slash labor costs. In quick succession last week, three major U.S. firms announced layoffs. GM

said it will significantly restructure its operations but won't disclose the actual number of job cuts until this week. Industry experts predict as many as 35,000 employees, or about 9% of GM's work force, may be gone by 1993. TRW, the defense and credit-reporting firm, plans to cut 10,000 jobs, or 14% of its payroll, during the next 18 months. And Xerox will lay off

2,500 workers, or some 2.5%, by mid-1993.

The latest wave of cutbacks follows similar steps by IBM, Citicorp and Kodak. Wall Street usually hails such moves, since they help shore up corporate profits. But economists worry that the deterioration in the job market will compound the recession by making consumers too nervous to shop. ■

FAST FOOD

The Pizza Putsch

Domino's founder, Thomas Monaghan, 54, is known for making business decisions the same way he delivers pizzas: in 30 minutes or less. Monaghan has now made another turnabout, ending a two-year spiritual retreat and firing the four executives he had placed in charge of his empire. Monaghan's explanation: A heavenly influence directed him to get back into the kitchen. "God will help him find the way," a Monaghan spokesman told the New York Times. But Domino's problems are pretty down to earth. Partly because of stiff competition in the pizza-delivery business, Monaghan was unable to find a buyer willing to pay the \$1.2 billion he wants for the company. To emphasize his sincerity as he goes back to work, Monaghan said he may shed such possessions as his vintage-car collection. ■



Monaghan in his company chapel



Lamb couldn't bail out Orion

HOLLYWOOD

Dances with Creditors

Turning out Academy Award-winning films is no guarantee of financial success, or even survival. Just ask Orion Pictures, which filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection last week. Despite such recent commercial and artistic hits as *Dances with Wolves* and *Silence of the Lambs*, the studio, known for allowing directors considerable creative freedom, was unable to support \$570 million in debt and other obligations. The bankruptcy was triggered when bondholders decided to halt final negotiations on a deal to swap \$285 million of debt for 70% of the motion-picture studio's stock.

Unlike its main competitors, Orion, founded in 1982, lacks a rich corporate parent to help finance the skyrocketing cost of film production, marketing and distribution. To make ends meet, Orion even had to sell off the theatrical rights to a major film it had developed, *The Addams Family*, which already has grossed more than \$67 million for rival studio Paramount Pictures. ■

NEWSPAPERS

Another One Bites the Dust

Until last week Dallas had the increasingly rare distinction of being a two-newspaper town. The rivalry between the *Morning News* (daily circ. 406,800) and the *Times Herald* (200,700) was a spirited one. But the old-fashioned newspaper war finally had a casualty. The 112-year-old *Times Herald* said last week it would cease publication and sell its assets for \$55 million to A.H. Belo, the parent company of the *Morning News*. The *Times Herald* publisher, John Buzzetta,

said he decided to shut down the paper after approaching more than 100 potential investors during the past year and finding no takers. The rival papers were equivalent in size as recently as the 1970s, but the weak Texas economy of the '80s eroded the strength of the afternoon paper. ■



Dallas is now a one-newspaper town

INVESTIGATIONS

Captain Crook's Painful Legacy

As investigators probe the wreckage of the Robert Maxwell empire, the mess just gets uglier. British investigators believe that the late media mogul looted some \$1.5 billion from the pension funds and coffers of public companies under his control, about twice the original estimate. Auditors also found that debts owed by

Maxwell's private companies exceed \$3.3 billion, up \$800 million from earlier estimates, and that Maxwell allegedly schemed to bolster the stock price of one of his companies by illegally paying investors to buy shares.

The spotlight now is on Maxwell's sons. Last week a British judge revoked Kevin and Ian Maxwell's passports and froze up to \$813 million of Kevin's assets after the disclosure of his "substantial" involvement in questionable transfers of pension assets. ■



Son Kevin: in the hot seat

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32. Flash-to-pass.
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36. Side window demisters.
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38. Trip odometer.

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Dodge Spirit

Plymouth Acclaim

Education

Laying Siege to Seniority

Faced with dismal school performance and tight budgets, politicians are renegeing on the idea of teacher tenure

By SAM ALLIS BOSTON

Tenure for 2.3 million public school teachers, one of the sacred cows in American education, is under attack. For decades, thanks to strong union contracts and ingrained notions of academic freedom, underpaid schoolteachers could at least console themselves with the fact that they were pretty well assured of job security for life. But after years of dismal school performance, and under the strictures of shrinking budgets, legislators are suddenly renegeing on the deal. "Professionalism and tenure are antithetical," says Chester Finn Jr., a former Assistant Secretary of Education and a proponent of free-market solutions to educational problems. "Teachers can't have it both ways."

In Massachusetts first-term Republican Governor William Weld and Democrats in the state legislature are mounting a frontal assault against tenure. Weld wants to allow school principals free rein to make hiring and firing decisions without reference to tenure or job seniority. Weld is also calling for teachers to be recertified every five years after taking competency tests. "This isn't anti-teacher," says Weld. "It's anti-slob teacher."

Kentucky has already moved against tenure as part of sweeping school-reform legislation enacted there last year. Individual schools are held accountable for improving student performance. If an institution fails to achieve results over a two-year period, a team of educators will be able to lift tenure and fire anyone on the school staff regardless of previous job guarantees.

The anti-tenure drive has inspired fierce opposition from the National Education Association, the nation's largest teachers' union. "I don't ever want it to be cheap to lay off an incompetent teacher," says N.E.A. president Keith Geiger. "But I don't want it to be impossible, either." He stresses that tenure was never meant to be a lifetime security but was intended as a guarantee against dismissal without just cause. Says Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers:

"An elected politician can't say, 'I'm going to fire you because you didn't support me in the last election.'"

Teachers call tenure a red herring raised by politicians to avoid dealing with the real problems plaguing American public education, like poor curriculums and overcrowded classrooms. Shanker argues that tenure is strongly rooted in countries

scrutinizing tenure candidates. Henry Bangser, superintendent of New Trier Township High School in Winnetka, Ill., estimates that it can take more than three years from the time a tenured teacher is judged incompetent by a principal until that teacher has exhausted the appeal process.

What are the alternatives? The most qualified—and the toughest—judges of classroom competence are usually other teachers. Thus one of the most interesting programs for evaluating classroom performance is one established by the Toledo Federation of Teachers 11 years ago, which has been copied in 15 other communities around the country. Each year more

than a dozen of the best Toledo teachers leave the classroom to work full-time as mentors for new teachers and to intervene with veterans experiencing problems. "We had been constantly locked up in long and damaging struggles with management over dismissing teachers," recalls Toledo Federation of Teachers president Dal Lawrence, who created the program. "Now that pretty much has disappeared." When teacher competence is called into question, 90% of the complaints are triggered by other teachers, not by parents or administrators. "Teachers don't want to work next door to an incompetent colleague," says Lawrence.

Some opponents of tenure argue that the collective-bargaining process is the root problem. Peter Greer, on leave as dean of Boston University's School of Education and now acting superintendent of schools in Chelsea, Mass., the troubled system that the university agreed to manage two years ago, says the "tyranny" of collective bargaining dooms any school-reform effort. Greer is currently being sued by Chelsea teachers for hiring four untenured teachers over tenured ones for a program to prevent high school dropouts.

"This is not the Salvation Army," snaps crusty B.U. president John Silber, arguing that the need is for results. At a time when schools are being challenged to improve education or make room for private-sector solutions, the need to reward excellence and punish mediocrity is likely to carry the day, in the classroom as much as outside it.



At a Kentucky school: Job security hinges on student performance

routinely cited for their superior educational systems, like Japan and Germany. The issue, says Shanker, is not job security but the ethos in countries that prize educational achievement. "Mothers and fathers in those societies know there are serious consequences for not doing well at school," he says. "In Germany, if a student doesn't pass a national exam, he can't go to college. Not here."

The problem is that the job security that makes sense in theory has become a nightmare in practice. The process for removing an incompetent teacher is often long and expensive, due largely to the numerous hearings and appeals required. Part of the difficulty is that the probationary period before tenure is granted, a mere three years in most states, is too short. Also, administrators generally do a poor job of

Teachers call tenure a red herring raised to avoid real problems in public education, like poor curriculums and overcrowded classrooms

People

By ALEXANDER TRESNIOWSKI/Reported by Michael Quinn



North Exposure

Is it any surprise that OLIVER NORTH can act? Last week the telegenic ex-colonel taped an episode of *Wings*, a sitcom about a small commuter airline. The role is hardly a stretch: North, as himself, persuades pilot STEVEN WEBER to let him ride up front, then gives him a copy of his new book. Will the quirky cameo win Ollie an Emmy? "He's a very, very good actor," says executive producer David Lee. "And he took direction quite well." Gee, where did he learn to do that?



Woodystroika

WOODY ALLEN'S films in progress are usually shrouded in secrecy, but these days the shroud is lifting, whether he likes it or not. First, word leaked that in his latest, untitled film, shooting in New York City, Allen plays a professor who has an affair with a student. Next a callous cast upgrade made Allen look like a fickle lover: he dumped lukewarm Emily Lloyd for red-hot JULIETTE LEWIS, fresh from *Cape Fear*. Then came even more bad press: protesters disrupted filming, demanding that more minorities work on the movie.

Hair Apparent

Any great romance needs a few bumps along the way to keep it interesting. Take Sam and Diane on *Cheers*. Or take Sam Donaldson and Diane Sawyer on *PrimeTime Live*. Their teaming three years ago was dressed up like a royal wedding, but onscreen they lacked chemistry. Soon they were anchoring out of different cities. Lately Sawyer seems to be getting more airtime, prompting reports last week that Donaldson is mad. So what does

Diane do? Draw more attention with a sexy new hairdo, of course. Does this mean Donaldson will get a new look? Unlikely: his hair hasn't moved in 20 years.



From Heel To Paternity

Warren Beatty used to be Hollywood's wildest womanizer, a real rhythm Method actor, but we all know what happened when he met Annette Bening. Last week the threesome turned out for the glittery Hollywood

premiere of the smashing gangster epic, *Bugsy*, amid much speculation about a Christmas Day wedding (Bening, after all, is due shortly thereafter). Beatty is cogily keeping those plans a secret, but imminent fatherhood clearly thrills, not chills him. "I'll make an extremely good father," says Beatty, "because I want to."

Who Killed J.F.K.?

In an electrifying and troubling new film, Oliver Stone and Kevin Costner rehearse the controversy about the Kennedy assassination

By **RICHARD CORLISS**



*J.F.K. blown away.
What else do I have to say?
—Billy Joel,
We Didn't Start the Fire*

On Nov. 22, 1963, somebody blasted the skull of America open. In a few seconds of rifle fire in Dallas' Dealey Plaza, a time warp gaped. Slapped out of a pretty post-war reverie, we screamed bloody murder.

Oliver Stone screams bloody murder for a living. In his screenplays for *Midnight Express* and *Scarface*, he drew nightscapes of drug paranoia and police brutality. As writer-director of *Platoon* and *Born on the Fourth of July*, the Vietnam vet exorcised his demons by portraying the war as a rite of passage—to fratricide. In *Talk Radio* he suggested that the penalty for a showman's reckless truth telling was to be killed by his audience. Jim Morrison, in *The Doors*, pays a similar fee for fame: the poet's capricious

muse drives him to drugs, madness, death. Oddly enough, Stone's tortured artistic mission—dispensing downers to a movie public famously addicted to escapism—has its upside. He pours so much dramatic juice into the hemlock blender that folks go to his films, and official Hollywood has rewarded Stone with three Oscars.

This past was prologue to his most outsize challenge: explaining the Kennedy assassination to his own satisfaction. Or anyone else's. *JFK*, the electrifying melodrama

How Many Shots Were Fired, and from Where?



Stone meticulously re-created Kennedy's fatal motorcade in Dallas, even cutting trees so they matched the scene on Nov. 22, 1963

THE MOVIE:

Stone's theory is that there were six shots, fired by three teams of gunmen located in the Texas School Book Depository, behind a nearby grassy knoll and in front of the limo. Even if Oswald was involved, the shooting took less than six seconds, not long enough for him to have shot more than twice.

opening nationwide this week, attracted brickbats months ago when a long article in the *Washington Post* cataloged historical "errors and absurdities" in Stone and Zachary Sklar's screenplay. Assassination scholars ragged Stone for his naiveté, his use of discredited testimony, his reliance on suspect "experts." A *TIME* critic said that if Stone's film "turns out to distort history, he may wind up doing more harm than homage to the memory of the fallen President." Tom Wicker, a New York *Times* columnist, has seen the film and believes it does all that and worse. He calls *JFK* "paranoid and fantastic," full of "wild assertions" and propagating an idea that, "if widely accepted, would be contemptuous of the very constitutional government Mr. Stone's film purports to uphold."

Anybody want to see this movie? Warner Bros. hopes so; the studio (whose parent company also owns *TIME*) helped foot *JFK*'s \$40 million tab. It is also counting on Kevin Costner, America's No. 1 homegrown movie star, to lure audiences to what is at heart a high-voltage civics quiz. Though he doesn't necessarily agree with every notion floated in the film,

Costner is happy to play front man for Stone. "Oliver's a patriot," he says. "And I believe with him that the impact of this movie will be liberating. Any part of the truth—any discussion of what could be the truth—can only make us freer."

But Costner's coiled heroic presence is one more source of controversy, for the liberal icon of *Dances with Wolves* and *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* is playing Jim Garrison, who as New Orleans district attorney in the late '60s prosecuted the only Kennedy assassination case that ever went to trial. And, quickly, out the window. The jury found the defendant, businessman Clay Shaw, not guilty in less time than last week's West Palm Beach jurors took to exonerate William Kennedy Smith. For the past decade, Garrison (who appears in *JFK* as Chief Justice Earl Warren) has been part of America's conspiracy industry—saint to some, buffoon to others.

In Stone's mind, and in Costner's presence, the Garrison of *JFK* is a hero: pure and simple. Upon learning that Lee Harvey Oswald (Gary Oldman) had spent part of the summer in New Orleans, Garrison questions people who may have known the

accused assailant: a ditsy homosexual named David Ferrie (Joe Pesci), a hooker named Willie O'Keefe (Kevin Bacon), a hipster lawyer (John Candy), an alcoholic private eye (Jack Lemmon)—a lower-depths cast whose connections seem to hint at a dark secret. Perhaps even a conspiracy? Who dares call it treason?

The D.A. does. A dogged sleuth for the truth, Garrison gets tips from "X," a disaffected military man (Donald Sutherland), help from his staff (Michael Rooker, Jay O. Sanders, Laurie Metcalf) and static from his wife (Sissy Spacek). By the time he has brought charges against the elegant debauchee Shaw (Tommy Lee Jones), the movie's Garrison is convinced of the breadth and enormity of this "secret murder at the heart of the American dream."

So, you want to know, who killed the President and connived in the cover-up? Everybody! High officials in the CIA, the FBI, the Dallas constabulary, all three armed services, Big Business and the White House. Everybody done it—everybody but Lee Harvey Oswald. Oh, Oswald was probably a double agent during his "defection" to the U.S.S.R., where he may have provid-



The famous home movie taken by dress manufacturer Abraham Zapruder shows Kennedy being hit in the throat

THE EVIDENCE:

Most witnesses testified that there were only three shots. Others said they heard four, at least one of which came from the grassy knoll. A House panel in 1979 analyzed a motorcycle-radio tape and concluded that a fourth shot did come from the knoll, but a subsequent study disputed this. The Warren Commission said the Zapruder film could be interpreted to mean the shooting took almost eight seconds, giving Oswald ample time to fire three shots.

Could One Bullet Have Hit Both Kennedy and Connally?



Costner as Garrison making his case in court, with a model of Dealey Plaza

THE MOVIE:

Garrison ridicules the Warren Commission's "magic-bullet" hypothesis by showing the impossible zigzag trajectory it would have had to take and by noting that the bullet in question was found in almost pristine condition. If he was right, there must have been more than three shots.

THE EVIDENCE:

The magic-bullet theory is one of the weakest parts of the Warren Commission's case; tests on animal and human cadavers were never able to show it was plausible. But subsequent studies by a skeptical House panel and by a Nova TV documentary indicate that Kennedy and Connally could have been positioned in such a way as to make

it theoretically possible. Neutron-activation tests indicate that the fragments in Connally's wrist did come from the bullet in question.



The "magic bullet"

ed information that helped the Soviets gun down Francis Gary Powers' spy plane. He may also have been in cahoots with anti-Castro Cubans. But he didn't shoot J.F.K.; he didn't even shoot Dallas police officer J.D. Tippit. The one man charged with the Kennedy assassination was precisely what he said he was: "a patsy."

Believe who will. Scoff who chooses. But save your outrage for matters of greater moment than even a major motion picture. It's a tribute to Stone's contentious showmanship that folks are het up about *JFK*, though it is neither the first nor the last movie assault on the Warren Commission Report. The 1973 film *Executive Action* hypothesized that leaders of the military-industrial complex conspired to kill J.F.K. A scheme even more toxic percolated through the 1979 movie *Winter Kills*, based on Richard Condon's novel: that a President very like Jack Kennedy could be assassinated by his own father. In February comes *Ruby*, from a Stephen Davis play about the man who really did shoot Oswald. And in April, *Libra*, based on Don DeLillo's fantasia about Oswald, his mother and the CIA, begins filming under John Malkovich's direction. Earlier this year, *Libra*'s producers claimed that Stone had used his clout to torpedo their production, a charge Stone heatedly denies.

Stone should have shown more confidence in his own film. Whatever one's suspicions about its use or abuse of the evidence, *JFK* is a knockout. Part history book, part comic book, the movie rushes toward judgment for three breathless hours, lassoing facts and factoids by the

thousands, then bundling them together into an incendiary device that would frag any viewer's complacency. Stone's picture is, in both meanings of the word, sensational: it's tip-top tabloid journalism. In its bravura and breadth, *JFK* is seductively enthralling; in its craft, wondrously complex.

Stone assembles and presents his material like a brilliant, eccentric professor, dazzling you with free-form insights even as he's poking you—oops!—in the eye with his pointer. He uses a canny mix of documentary footage (including the Zapruder film) and re-enactments in 8-mm, 16-mm and 35-mm black-and-white and color to buttress, refute or footnote testimony. "We didn't worry about everything not fitting," says co-film editor Joe Hutshing. "The idea was to create a tapestry, with various textures, grain sizes and colors."

The film also employs clever, subtle

sound effects. When, during the first interrogation of Clay Shaw, Garrison springs Willie O'Keefe's name, we hear a *dingle-dong!* In story terms, it is a doorbell that cues the prostitute's appearance at Shaw's front door (with a subtextual aural gag: the prancing stud as Avon lady). But it also alerts the viewer that, after much digging, Garrison has come close to pay dirt. "The sound has a subliminal effect," Hutshing says. "It's like perfume—it brings you back to that period."

In his earlier films, Stone could go bats, with prowling cameras and screaming actors; but *JFK* is, for all its bravura, compact and controlled. Perhaps no Hollywood director has made a film with so many speaking parts or data: *JFK* is a crash briefing with great visual aids. If David Ferrie mentions a thunderstorm, Stone will lock it in your mind with a quick image of lightning

Where Did the Fatal Shot Come From?

THE MOVIE:

As shown in the Zapruder film, Kennedy's head lurched back when hit, suggesting that the bullet came from the front and not from the book depository.

THE EVIDENCE:

Kennedy's head does seem to snap back. Defenders of the Warren Commission argue that this does not prove the bullet came from the front; they say the autopsy report and photos make it clear the bullet entered from the rear. The bullet that hit Kennedy's head was found in the limousine, and tests indicated that it came from Oswald's rifle. Moreover, frame 313 of the Zapruder film clearly shows brain matter spraying forward.

Did Oswald Know Ruby, Shaw and Ferrie?



THE MOVIE:

Shaw, Ferrie and Oswald are shown in New Orleans together, and Oswald and Ferrie are shown with Ruby at his Dallas nightclub.

THE EVIDENCE:

Over the years, some witnesses have come forward to say they saw the alleged conspirators together at parties and at a rally in rural Louisiana. This was Garrison's key contention in his 1969 trial of Shaw, but the jury rejected it. Even many conspiracy theorists doubt the credibility of the witnesses.



Above, *JFK*'s Oswald, Ferrie and Ruby; the real Oswald, Ferrie, Ruby and Shaw

splitting the Texas sky. Throughout, Stone juggles fact and supposition with such dervish dexterity that even when he drops a ball, he never loses his intense poise.

As storyteller, Stone is catering a buffet banquet of conspiracy theories; you can gorge on them or just graze. He tells his audience what every entertainer says: entertain this notion. Suspend disbelief. Let's pretend. What if? Superficially, movies are a persuasive medium because they exist in the present tense, not the conditional. Each picture is happening before our eyes; each Stone film fantasy is, for the moment it is on the screen, the moviegoer's reality.

But because films are fictions—because even a naive viewer knows Kevin Costner is an actor playing a moviemaker's interpretation of a man named Jim Garrison—the events they portray need not be factual, or even probable; they must only

be plausible. Through his art and passion, Stone makes *JFK* plausible, and turns his thesis of a coup d'état into fodder for renewed debate. The movie recognizes that history is not only what we are told to believe; often it is gossip that becomes gospel.

Does Stone see himself as a political director? "Not at all," he says. "I am trying to be a dramatist." And a dramatist looks for a pattern. Coincidences, random motives and the privately festering grudges of a lone nut may be the small sad facts behind the Kennedy assassination, but they satisfy no one's demands—least of all Stone's—for the coherence of myth. The director needs a big-picture view to make his big picture work. And a hero like the movie's Garrison needs a martyr like the movie's Kennedy. The President must be restored to Camelot; the philanderer of revisionist history must be revised again, shown in home movies as a

loving husband, a doting dad. More important, he must be a crusader who not only is determined to achieve his noble aims but also is aware of mortal danger from his enemies. If he was killed by Oswald alone, then Kennedy was no martyr—just the victim of really rotten luck.

Stone argues that Kennedy was so progressive, so "soft on communism" (and on Castro) and so popular that the right-wing establishment was driven to kill him. But this is a romantic, perhaps fantasy, J.F.K.; he can as easily be seen as a cold warrior with star quality. He believed in the domino theory of communism storming across Asia; he exercised superpower machismo by eyeballing the Soviet Union over its Cuban missiles until Khrushchev blinked. He took flak from liberals for appointing segregationist Southerners as judges in federal courts, Martin Luther King Jr., not Kennedy, was the moral leader of the civil rights movement—rights confirmed only in Lyndon Johnson's tenure.

Stone's Garrison is semifictional as well, and open to charges of distortion. As played with understated power by Costner, in his speck and rumpled jacket, Garrison is the ordinary decent man whose search for truth makes him extraordinary in a time of national fear and cowardice. Borrowing the quest plot from *Hamlet* (or *Star Wars*), *JFK* sends its hero out to avenge the murder of his spiritual father, Jack Kennedy. "This is not a biography of Jim Garrison," Costner says. "He was just the flagpole Oliver tied the events around. Was he right? I'm not sure. I tried to play him without judging him. That's somebody else's job."

Was the Autopsy Rigged?

THE MOVIE:

Kennedy is moved to Bethesda Naval Hospital near Washington over objections of a Dallas official, and the autopsy is supervised by top military commanders intent on covering up the evidence. The notes are then burned, and the President's brain disappears.

THE EVIDENCE:

Indeed, Kennedy's body was ordered moved to Bethesda Naval Hospital, some autopsy notes were destroyed, and the whereabouts of the brain is unknown. The autopsy photos taken at Bethesda indicate a shot from the rear, but they vary from the recollection of some doctors in Dallas. There have been lingering allegations—but no hard evidence—that someone tampered with the wounds on Kennedy's body.

Was It a Military Plot to Keep the U.S. in Vietnam?



THE MOVIE:

A man identified as "X" tells Garrison that Kennedy was the victim of CIA and military officers who objected to his secret plans to withdraw from Vietnam and to scuttle plots against Fidel Castro. The movie implies that the masterminds were Allen Dulles, whom Kennedy fired as CIA director; General Charles Cabell, who was deputy CIA director and the brother of the mayor of Dallas; and a mystery man called "General Y."

THE EVIDENCE:

"X" is based on a former Air Force colonel named Fletcher Prouty, who was a director of special operations at the Pentagon in the early 1960s and is now a prominent conspiracy theorist. "General Y" is based on General Edward Lansdale, a celebrated CIA officer who ran the covert "Operation Mongoose" program to overthrow Castro and later served in Vietnam.

Kennedy confided to certain antiwar Senators that he planned to withdraw from Vietnam if re-elected; but publicly he proclaimed his opposition to withdrawal. In October 1963 he signed a National Security Action Memo—NSAM 263—that ordered the withdrawal of 1,000 of the 16,000 or so U.S. military "advisers."

After the assassination, Lyndon Johnson let the 1,000-man withdrawal proceed, but it was diluted so that it involved mainly individuals due for rotation rather than entire combat units. A few days after taking office he signed a new action memo—NSAM 273—that was tougher than a version Kennedy had been considering; it permitted more extensive covert military actions against North Vietnam. No one has come forward, however, with any direct knowledge of a military or CIA conspiracy.

Sutherland as "X": the real-life Prouty (the model for "X") and Lansdale

My job was to validate him as a character. It's up to the moviegoer to decide whether what he says is valid."

What wasn't valid, some supporters of conspiracy scenarios charge, was the real Garrison's tactics. In mythologizing the D.A. J.F.K. ignores allegations that he bullied witnesses and suppressed a polygraph test. Those moral zits would deface the hero's image—and Stone's too, since he likely sees himself as a modern movie Garrison, a brave man vilified for unearthing the sordid, cleansing truth. If Stone wants to raise the Garrison flagpole and sit on it, waving elaborate theories as if they were the Stars and Stripes, fine. But he should make his method clear to the audience. J.F.K. needs to carry the warning: This is a drama based on fact and conjecture.

Under its breath, the movie says as much. It prefaces some scenes with a "For all we know, it could have been..." or a "Let's just for a moment speculate, shall we?" Stone embraces contradictions, or maybe he just trucks over them. What Garrison tells his staff, Stone tells his viewers: "Now we're through the looking glass here, people. White is black, and black is white." But the film's true epigraph might be the counsel that "X" gives Garrison: "Don't take my word. Do your own work—your own thinkin'."

"Nobody is claiming that the movie is the truth," says Sklar, the editor of Garrison's book, *On the Trail of the Assassins*. "But Oliver wanted to find out as much as he could about the assassination and get close to the full truth, which he, like many people, thinks has never been told."

Stone hired Sklar to work on the script, which was also based on Jim Marrs' study,

Crossfire: The Plot That Killed Kennedy. He boiled Sklar's 550-page first draft down to 160 pages and interpolated extensive flashbacks, in the style of *Rashomon* and *Z*. By April 1991, when filming began, Stone, Sklar and co-producer A. Kitman Ho had interviewed more than 200 people.

The actors became detectives too. "It's like being a journalist," Oldman said of his research into Oswald's character. "We all became assassination buffs. Marina [Oswald's Russian-born widow] had a tape that she let me see. It had a section leading up to the line, 'I'm just a patsy.' Oliver saw it, and he said, 'Let's restage that scene.'" Spacek spent time with Garrison's ex-wife Liz. "The sense I got from her," the actress says, "is of a woman living the life she wanted to live until her husband's obsession came through. She was proud of Jim, but his obsession went so far."

On location in Dealey Plaza, actors and crew filmed the motorcade re-enactment with super-8 movie cameras. "The idea," says co-film editor Pietro Scalia, "was to create a point of view so that this section has an amateurish look." After much wrangling, the J.F.K. company secured use of the Texas School Book Depository, from which shots were fired on Nov. 22. The sixth floor had become a museum, so the moviemakers used the seventh floor there and, for appropriate perspective of the motorcade, the sixth floor of an adjacent building. Stone also filmed at the Dallas police headquarters, where Jack Ruby killed Oswald. "The police were very cooperative," says production designer Victor Kempster. "They let us strip out

computers in the offices and put in 1960s furniture. That included changing doorways to fit the film footage."

The crucial historical footage was the Zapruder film, for a copy of which Stone paid \$40,000. "It's the most important visual record we have of the assassination," says Sklar. "To make a movie without it is to miss a lot." Over and over, at the climax of J.F.K., Garrison plays the fatal shot—tragically as therapy—to help solve the mystery and restore the fearful impact of the day that yanked a nation out of its cocoon of innocence. For all its cynicism, or even paranoia, about official venality, the film is a call for a kind of informed innocence. Stone says: Open your eyes wide, like a child's. Look around. See what fits. And Costner's summation is right out of an old Frank Capra movie in its declaration of principle in the face of murderous odds. Lost causes, as Capra's Mr. Smith said, are the only causes worth fighting for.

To Stone's old enemies, J.F.K. may be another volatile brew of megalomania and macho sentiment. To his new critics, the film may seem deliciously irresponsible, madly muttering like a street raver. But to readers of myriad espionage novels and political-science fictions, in which the CIA or some other gentlemen's cabal is always the villain, the movie's thesis will be a familiar web spinning of high-level malevolence. J.F.K. is Ludlum or Le Carré, but for real.

Or—crucial distinction—for reel. Memorize this mantra, conspiracy buffs and guardians of public respectability: J.F.K. is only a movie. And, on its own pugnapacious terms—the only terms Oliver Stone would ever accept—a terrific one. —Reported by Patrick E. Cook/Los Angeles



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Plunging into the Labyrinth

Feisty filmmaker Oliver Stone counters criticisms of the conspiracy theory and cover-up scenario in his "tsunami wave" of a movie, JFK

By LANCEMORROW and MARTHA SMILGIS



Q. In *JFK* you commingle real news footage with re-created historical scenes. Do you consider the film a docudrama, a work of fact or fiction?

A. Am I a zebra? Am I a giraffe? What color are my spots? These are categorizations, and I tend to resist them. During the trial Jim Garrison says, let's speculate for a moment what happened that day. He goes on to speculate as to the events as they might have happened with more than one shooter. So I'm giving you a detailed outlaw history or counter-myth. A myth represents the true inner spiritual meaning of an event. I think the Warren Commission was a myth, and I think this movie, hopefully, if it's accepted by the public, will at least move people away from the Warren Commission and consider the possibility that there was a coup d'état that removed President Kennedy.

Q. Do you feel you as a filmmaker have a responsibility to historical fact?

A. Whenever you start to dictate to an artist his "social responsibility" you get into an area of censorship. I think the artist has the right to interpret and reinterpret history and the events of his time. It's up to the artist himself to determine his own ethics by his own conscience.

Q. Are you comfortable with this film in your own conscience?

A. Totally. I dispute the "objective" version of events in Dealey Plaza as stated by the Warren Commission. The entire Warren Commission Report, 26 volumes, is a rat's nest of conflicting facts, and that's been pointed out not just by me but by many critics before me.

Q. Is it accurate to say that you think the assassinations of John Kennedy, Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy are linked?

A. I think the removal of the three most progressive leaders of the '60s during a time of bitterness and dissension and civil war in this country is very much tied into the assassination. I use the term civil war in its full implications, going back to the 1960s, where we were divided between hawks and doves, hippies and straights. These three leaders were pulling out of the war in Vietnam and shaking up the country. Civil rights, the cold war itself, everything was in question.

There's no doubt that these three killings are linked, and it worked. That's what's amazing. They pulled it off.

Q. Who's "they"? Who do you think has profited from the Kennedy and King assassinations?

A. As shown in the movie, the money that was involved was enormous by any standard. Cold war money. It's not just Vietnam money. It's military-industrial

"I'm giving you a detailed outlaw history or counter-myth. A myth represents the true inner spiritual meaning of an event."

money. It's nuclear money. It's the American war economy that Eisenhower warned us about, that came into being in this country in the 1940s, after World War II. It's also the continuation of the covert state, the invisible government that operates in this country and seems to be an unselected parallel government to our legitimate government. The CIA and military intelligence all got out of hand somewhere in the 1960s. It suddenly reached another level, where the concept of assassination—the wet affair, liquidation—became the vogue.

Q. When you say a parallel government, do you mean a special arm of the Executive Branch, like "special ops"?

A. It's a moving, fluid thing, a series of forces at play. It's not necessarily individuals. Military-industrial interests are at stake. That puts into play certain forces. We have had many incidents recently, with Oliver North, with Richard Secord, the whole Iran-*contra* business. We've seen the scale on which arms are moved around the world. We've seen secret deals. There's more going on than ever meets the eye.

and there's more going on than is ever written about in the newspapers.

Q. Why did you pick Garrison as the focal point of *JFK*?

A. Because in Jim I found a worthy protagonist, a vehicle to include all the research that was done in the case. I respect Jim. He put himself out there and led with his chin. His was a flawed investigation, but he did his best. He was one of a very few who early on said that the government did it. Which was an astounding statement in 1967, a very scary one.

Q. It's still an astounding statement. Americans have the strong sense that their government is their government. They don't have the sense that, say, the Russians have had for generations, that the government belongs to the people who have seized power.

A. You really think that? Maybe you're right. I may be in the minority. I just think the American people smell a rat.

Q. Given our motley society, why couldn't a lone gunman have shot Kennedy? Why does it have to be a conspiracy?

A. Assassins through history have always proclaimed their act. They've been proud of it. They've killed for a political reason. But Oswald always said, "I didn't do it. I'm a pat-ty." And we have an enormous accumulation of physical evidence that makes it very difficult to buy that one gunman could have done that kind of shooting job.

Q. You stood in the window with that rifle and worked the bolt?

A. Not only that, but we created the motorcade. We had a massive motorcade moving through that ravine called Dealey Plaza. We fired. We heard the shots and echoes too. We did more of an enactment than the FBI ever did, and by the way, their best marksmen were never able to match Oswald's feat.

Q. In *JFK* the media, including *TIME* and *LIFE*, cover up the assassination conspiracy. Do you truly believe the press was CIA-infiltrated?

A. I feel that the American reaction to the crime was to simplify it, to deal with good guys and bad guys and a lone gunman and John Wayne theatrics. The European press was much more skeptical, because they saw in this assassination political forces at play.



Disenchanted by the war in Vietnam, the director aggressively questions governmental authority

The press in fact never did ask *why* Kennedy was killed. They immediately were, in a sense, trivialized by the questions of who and how. It all became a matter of scenery—Oswald, Ruby. Scenery distracts from the essential questions. Who benefited? Who had the power to cover it up? I don't point the finger of evil intention, but it is documented that the agency spent quite a bit of money to keep a leg up in journalism; that there were a lot of people working on their payroll.

Q. Specifically what evidence do you believe the press covered up?

A. Among other things, you have LIFE buying the Zapruder film and burying it and not showing it to the American public.⁴ Eventually it was made available, but

⁴In fact, LIFE printed the most relevant still frames in its next issue. But at the request of Zapruder, who feared "exploitation" of the tragedy, it did not allow the film to be shown as a money issue. In 1975 LIFE sold the film back to the Zapruder family for \$1.

only 12 years later. Garrison was the first one, I think, to get it out in a public forum with the trial in 1969. He subpoenaed Time-Life and succeeded in getting the film shown to a limited audience.

Q. What is the importance of the Zapruder film?

A. I think the most conclusive thing it shows is the fatal head shot coming from the front, from the fence. In addition, it shows the time frame of the shots, which makes it very difficult to believe Oswald fired three shots in 5.6 seconds. And of course it raises the whole question of how Connally and Kennedy were hit by the same bullet.

Q. From what you're saying, you would have 400 of the most notable media people in America knowing about a conspiracy to kill Kennedy?

A. I don't know that 400 people have to know anything. I think there is such a form of informational equilibrium that preserves the status quo that you can virtually call it silent consent.

Q. Why did you put famous actors—Jack Lemmon, Walter Matthau, Donald Sutherland, John Candy, Ed Asner—into small roles?

A. They help us along the road because the material might be in some sense dry and arcane to many people. Each actor has a little riddle or an obstacle for Garrison, who has to work his way around it to move farther into the heart of the labyrinth, where the Cretan Minotaur lives.

Q. Isn't Garrison's wife, the character played by Sissy Spacek, simplified in the film?

A. I didn't misinterpret his wife at all. That's the way she was. Garrison's investigation threatened her family life. They had five kids, and he was not home. We didn't practice politically correct feminism to try to make her into something she was not. What we did—you could fault me for it—was put a woman D.A. into his staff. He did not have a woman D.A.

Q. Do you expect to see negative reaction to JFK?

A. I think older white males will have a major problem with it. I think the younger generation will be more open.

Q. The older generation has a memory of the event, the younger generation doesn't. What is your sense of responsibility to this younger, video generation, which will accept your movie as truth and history?

Cinema

A. We did a lot of homework. I had a dozen technical advisers going over the script with a line-tooth comb. Everything that we have in there we stand behind. What is speculation is clearly speculation. We did not throw in any facts that we felt were wrong. I did make some composites. I've admitted that. I made it very clear [in interviews], for example, that Garrison never really met with the character called "X," played by Donald Sutherland, who explains the dimensions of the CIA conspiracy.

Q. You have drawn together many threads of conspiratorial theory in the film. Are you endorsing everything or simply advancing them as possibilities?

A. I think I pulled back in the movie from some of my own beliefs and probably softened some of my own conclusions for fear of seeming too aggressive and bullying about information.

Q. With this film, aren't you joining the ranks of the conspiracy industry and commercializing a national tragedy?

A. It's a cottage industry but not necessarily a very lucrative one. The movie faces commercial risk. It has to appeal on a large level to justify itself.

Q. From many of your films it seems you see America as an ugly, disturbed country populated with sinister characters.

A. *Talk Radio* is the darkest film I've made, but I don't personally feel that way about America. I have a lot more hope for America. I see it as a totally homogeneous land, and I love its vastness and its freedom. My mother is French. She was an immigrant who came over here in 1946. In a sense I'm half immigrant. I think that the best part of America is its lack of pretension and snobism. If anything, in my work I've tried to veer away from the elites that I think have corrupted and made cynical the American Dream. I hark back to an immigrant belief in the goodness of this country. I find it coming still from Asia, Mexico, Latin America, Europe. I think movies in a sense thrive on that democracy.

Q. Where were you on Nov. 22, 1963?

A. In my room during a lunch break at the Hill School in Pennsylvania. My reaction was very similar to Jim's in the movie. A fellow student ran into the room and said, "They just shot the President." It was



On location in Dallas, at the Texas School Book Depository

shocking to me because Kennedy was a handsome young man. I loved his rhetoric. Politically, I was against him because I was for Nixon and Goldwater. But in my heart I could not help being moved by his charisma. I was very sad for the family. We watched TV the whole weekend, just like in the movie. Then we moved on with our lives. We didn't really think about it. That was the point.

Q. When did you begin to develop an intuition that maybe it wasn't Oswald alone, that maybe there was a conspiracy?

A. I began to distrust the government through my Vietnam experience, when I started to see the degree of lying and corruption that was going on. When I came back from the war, I began to redefine the way I had grown up. I started writing screenplays more aggressively protesting the authority of this government. I wrote *Platoon* and *Born on the Fourth of July*. I had heard the Oswald stories, but I had honestly been defeated by the size of the literature, and I didn't see its

implications in my life, as to how it affected the beginnings of the Vietnam War. And then Garrison's book was given to me. I read it and saw its implications as a thriller—a whodunit.

Q. You have been called a chronicler of the '60s and the last of the '60s radicals. What does the '60s mean to you?

A. First of all, I was never a radical in the '60s. I was, if anything, very straight. I went to school. I went to Vietnam. I was very slow in coming around. I do think the '60s is a determinant decade for the '90s, because people in my generation—I'm 45 now—are coming to power. We're the next power base of this country. We all grew up in the cold war. We were born in the dawn of the nuclear age. So the '60s is really determining what's going to happen in the '90s.

Q. You once said that Kennedy's assassination spawned the race riots, the hippie movement, organized protests and the drug culture. Do you think his death alone was responsible for this tide?

A. Yes, in a metaphorical sense. I think there was an erosion of trust in the government on the subconscious level. On the conscious level, we moved on. We buried Oswald and got rid of Ruby. The nightmare went away. But subconsciously the major fissure had occurred.

Historians in the 21st century are going to point to this as a key moment in American history.

Q. Quite apart from whether there was a small, limited conspiracy, isn't the movie saying that it was in the general interest of Lyndon Johnson that Kennedy be assassinated and the war in Vietnam go forward?

A. Kings are killed. It is the nature of political powers. I have no problem believing this. I can see where certain people do, and I can see where you might think I'm crazy. The film is a bit subversive in its approach. But a film can often be subversive to the subconscious. It comes out and it's often criticized and reviled, but it lasts. It's sort of like a tsunami wave. It starts out miles and miles from the beach. You hear a noise that just moves fast under the water. Then without warning it hits the beach, an explosion. Obviously, this film is going to be denied; there will be some decrying and reviling. All the errors are going to be attacked. It will be discredited. Yet it will survive. ■

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American Myth 101

In a provocative book, historian Michael Kammen explores how Americans reinvent their past to fit the present

By RICHARD STENGEL

Historiographers (an ugly-sounding word for historians of history) are coming round to the view that history consists of little more than a series of consensual myths. It is not a nation's past that shapes its mythology but a nation's mythology that determines its past. History becomes a minstrel show glimpsed through a

Kammen, who won the Pulitzer Prize for his 1972 book, *People of Paradox*, focuses on three periods: the half-century after the Civil War; the years between the First and Second World Wars; the decades since World War II. At the risk—or rather with the certainty—of distorting Kammen's subtle and teasing narrative, one can say that America has evolved from a society that repudiated the past to a culture ambiv-

design was under way. Historical pageants flourished.

Immigrants to America had a different relationship with the past. Most had come to escape it. The irony is that once they settled in America, they could not live without it. Kammen suggests a kind of ethnic American syllogism: the first generation zealously preserves, the second generation zealously forgets; the third generation zealously rediscovers. The idea of the melting pot, he points out, was a comforting myth to Americans of older stock and a frightening one to those just off the boat. The idea of assimilation is always more congenial when you are the one being assimilated.

The period after World War I was a time of both modernism and nostalgia. Americans were exhilarated by a sense of the new but also yearned for the traditional. In the '20s newly minted products were routinely labeled STRICTLY AMERICAN. Collecting Americana—"antiqueing," as it was known—became a national hobby. Henry Ford filled warehouses with what he called "American stuff": Duncan Phyfe tables, endless volumes of McGuffey Readers and Thomas Edison memorabilia. John D. Rockefeller Jr. set about restoring colonial Williamsburg, Va., in the painstaking detail that only a billionaire could afford. In the '30s the New Deal was sponsoring research into folk art and folk songs. For the first time the government, not the private sector, became the main custodian of history.

For nearly two decades after World War II, Kammen suggests, patriotism served as the American civil religion. The 1960s turned into a decade of questioning, while the 1970s ushered in an era of nostalgia. And what is nostalgia, he says, but "history without guilt"? During the past 25 years, history has become a growth industry. Memory has been commercialized. Ask Ralph Lauren. In the Reagan years, public history was privatized, so that it was Coca-Cola, not the U.S. government, that "brought you" the centennial of the Statue of Liberty. The 1980s, Kammen says, incultured "a selective memory and a soothing amnesia."

Mystic Chords of Memory trails off with a sense that America is not moving forward but pensively looking back. Kammen asserts that we have shown an increased interest in the past but a decreased knowledge of it. In the 1930s Lewis Mumford wrote, "Our past still lies ahead of us." The feeling one is left with after reading Kammen's dense and masterly work is that our future lies behind us.



Re-creating the past: the fife-and-drum corps at colonial Williamsburg

musty lens distorted by tradition, popular culture and wishful thinking.

In his fascinating and magisterial book *Mystic Chords of Memory* (Knopf, 864 pages, \$40), Michael Kammen explores the complicated relationship between history and memory that has existed since America began. What Kammen sets out to do is both modern and old-fashioned: through a careful mustering of detail and theory, he explains that throughout American history, facts have been transformed into myths and myths transformed into beliefs. From the time the Pilgrims may or may not have celebrated Thanksgiving to the "grotesque distortions" of Western history in TV shows like *Guns, Smoke*, Kammen shows how America has reconstructed its past to conform to the needs of its present.

Mystic Chords of Memory suggests that we think of ourselves as a people who honor the past but are not imprisoned by it. Kammen claims that Americans have always believed they knew more about their own history than they actually did. Although we prefer to regard ourselves as a forward-looking people striding into the future, we tend to be happier sitting around the cozy fireplace of nostalgia.

alent about it, to a nation that has turned wishful and retrospective.

By the middle of the 19th century, Americans thought they had outgrown the past. History was the Old World; America was too young to have a usable past. The great American tradition, as Ralph Waldo Emerson said, was to trample on tradition. In the 1880s the house where Thomas Jefferson wrote the first draft of the Declaration of Independence had become a hot-dog emporium. For most of the 19th century, American history was rarely included in the standard school curriculum.

Diversity, Kammen suggests, was one reason why Americans were indifferent to their history. A young, pluralistic nation is united by its future rather than its past. Americans had their eyes focused on the horizon, and history was an impediment to progress. Americans, Abraham Lincoln once said, have "a perfect rage for the new."

Beginning in the late 1800s, however, people seemed to hanker for history and tradition. Statues of Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant rose in every town and hamlet. In 1907, 20,000 spectators came to see a Jefferson Davis monument dedicated in Richmond. The first of many colonial revivals in



Author Kammen

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Tools with Intelligence

A new wave of do-it-yourself gadgets brings the benefits of the computer age to those who are handy around the house

Consider the screwdriver. Simple. Utilitarian. And hopelessly out of date. Few people who have put together a cabinet with a cordless screw turner will ever happily go back to driving Phillips-heads by hand. The most advanced power screwdrivers even come with built-in computer systems that sense when a screw is running into resistance and turn up the torque accordingly.

Having infiltrated every nook, cranny and copy machine in the modern office, the electronics revolution is starting to

work its magic in the workshop. Tools that date back to the Iron Age can now take advantage of two decades of technological advances, including lightweight rechargeable batteries, custom-made computer chips, liquid-crystal readouts and semiconductor sensors. Result: a new generation of smart tools that promise to bring the benefits of the computer age to those who like to work with their hands.

The first tools to go high-tech were top-of-the-line industrial workhorses: saws with electric brakes that "knew" when to

stop; routers with electronic feedback to control their cutting speeds; laser-guided graders that raised or lowered themselves automatically and could make the bumpiest construction sites as level as a putting green.

Now those same technologies—and a few new ones—are finding their way into tools used by weekend do-it-yourselfers, a group swelled by large numbers of electronics-savvy baby boomers. Some of these tools, like the electronic tire gauge, may be too smart for their own good, and will probably go the way of most overpriced gimmicks. But a few, including the digital level and the electromagnetic stud finder, actually make tough jobs easier to do. And if a smart tool can do that, there will always be people smart enough to buy it. —By Philip Eimer-DeWitt

Electronic lawn mower: Black & Decker's \$269 Lawnforce mower features a sophisticated, computer-controlled power-monitoring system that senses when the grass is getting too thick and kicks in extra power to keep the cut consistent. Now if the mower only had a way to kill crabgrass...



Tapeless tape measure: By zapping an ultrasound beam where it's pointed, Seiko's Home Contractor (\$50) can measure distances from 2 ft. to 30 ft. with 99% accuracy. It can also calculate area and volume and tell how many tiles you will need to cover a floor or ceiling. Sonix makes a \$170 version that measures distances up to 250 ft.



Electromagnetic stud finder: Where should you drive that nail? Zircon's Studsensor (\$14.95), the first popular entry in the smart-tool category, senses minute electromagnetic disturbances caused by changes in density to locate the position of wooden studs and beams behind walls. More than 11 million have been sold.



Computerized level: Most levels use bubbles trapped in thin glass vials, which tell you only when a surface is level or plumb. But Wedge Innovation's SmartLevel (\$50) uses a gravity-seeking electronic sensor to measure those and all angles in between. It's accurate to one-tenth of a degree.

Digital tire gauge: With the low-profile tires found on today's high-performance cars, proper inflation is too critical to rely on standard pencil-type tire gauges. At least that's what the folks at Measurement Specialties say. Their \$25 AccuTire uses solid-state electronics to measure tire pressure within 1/2 lb. per sq. in.





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Tidings of Black Pride and Joy

Kwanzaa, the African-American Yule-time celebration, is becoming more popular—and more commercial

By JANICE C. SIMPSON

Add a new seasonal greeting to your list: *Habari gani*. It is Swahili for "What's new?" and the salutation for millions of African Americans who celebrate Kwanzaa, a seven-day holiday that begins on Dec. 26. Inaugurated 25 years ago as a black-nationalist celebration of familial and social values, the festivities are now being embraced by the black mainstream.

Kwanzaa is patterned after various African agricultural festivals, and the name derives from the Swahili word for first fruit of the harvest. It was created by Maulana Karenga, a black-studies professor at California State University, Long Beach. The purpose of the holiday, he says, is to help black people "rescue and reconstruct our history and culture and shape them in our own image."

Unlike Christmas or Hanukkah, Kwanzaa is not a religious holiday; the festival celebrates seven principles—unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity and faith—assigned to each of the days. Observers gather each evening to light one of the candles in the *kinara*, a seven-cup candelabrum, and discuss how the principle of the day affects their life. Small gifts are often exchanged.

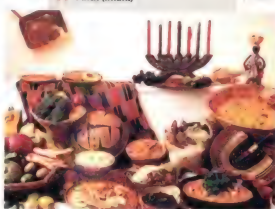
In the late 1960s, Kwanzaa was celebrated mainly by the more radical members of the black-nationalist community. But now, says the Rev. Willie Wilson, pastor at Union Temple Baptist Church in Washington, "you find a lot of people trying to return to their roots and cultural values." Each year Wilson's church holds nightly Kwanzaa observances that culminate in a ball, which now draws about 1,000 participants. No one knows precisely how many people observe Kwanzaa, but its biggest boosters are middle-class professionals seeking to give their children a sense of black pride. "My children grew up in a fairly white community, and that motivated me to teach them the value of the African-American heritage," says Vickie Butcher, 50, a lawyer in El Cajon, Calif., who celebrates with her physician husband and their five children. "We

sit in a circle, and every person talks about that day's principle," she says. "The creating and sharing is real quality time."

On the final night of the holiday, friends and relatives join the family for a feast known as the *Karamu*. This year a compendium of celebratory recipes has been published in Eric Copage's *Kwanzaa: An African-American Celebration of Culture and Cooking* (Morrow; \$25). The book also contains stories about black history

THE PRINCIPLES OF KWANZAA

1. Unity (*umoja*)
2. Self-determination (*kujichagulia*)
3. Collective responsibility (*ujima*)
4. Cooperative economics (*ujamaa*)
5. Purpose (*nia*)
6. Creativity (*kuumba*)
7. Faith (*imani*)



Dancers at a museum celebration of the holiday; a variety of Karamu dishes for the festive table



and culture, along with suggestions on how to use them to illustrate the seven principles.

Museums and other institutions have begun to adopt the celebrations. Last year more than 8,500 people attended poetry readings, music performances and puppet shows during the sixth annual observance at Manhattan's American Museum of Natural History. The Smithsonian added a program of Kwanzaa activities to its Christmas and Hanukkah celebrations in 1988.

The proximity to Christmas and the fact that gifts are bestowed have led some people to think of Kwanzaa as a Yule alternative, but increasingly, black families observe both. As the black holiday spirit spreads, however, so do problems of creeping commercialism. One black-owned publishing company already markets 21 styles of Kwanzaa cards and a 32-page activity book for children. Future products include a Kwanzaa kit, complete with a *kinara* and instructions for novice celebrators.

Some parents even purchase bicycles and Nintendo sets for Kwanzaa gifts; they rationalize the excess by buying from black-owned businesses. That, they say, is

in the spirit of *ujamaa*, or cooperative economics. "This is the U.S., and if anything becomes successful, it almost automatically becomes commercial," says Copage. "Doing otherwise is like trying to surf without getting wet."

What next? Cedric Clester, author of *Kwanzaa: Everything You Always Wanted to Know but Didn't Know Where to Ask*, has created Nia Umoja, "an African answer to Santa Claus." The character, who is supposed to represent an African griot, or wise man, wears a Nehru-style suit and joins hands with youngsters to ask what they have learned about Kwanzaa. Says Clester: "Kwanzaa needed a character because we need to attract younger people and their parents."

Traditionalists disapprove of these developments but say they are a natural part of the evolution of holiday celebrations. "These things are going to happen, just as they have with Christmas, Chinese New Year and Hanukkah," says Tulivu Jodi, an official at the African American Cultural Center in Los Angeles. "But there is still a community—and not a small one—that observes the serious intent of the holiday." This year the center is collecting food and clothing for the homeless, another way to spread the true joys of Kwanzaa.



Balanced between sentiment and surrealism: Esterman, Drummond and Emery

Theater

The Whole Point of Life

MARVIN'S ROOM by Scott McPherson

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III

A hardened, sinewy blond who is almost succeeding in fighting off the encroachments of middle age tells her unstylish, homebody sister how sorry she is that the homebody threw away her life caring for their bedridden father and addled aunt. The care giver insists she has no regrets: "I can't imagine a better way to have spent my life." Later she explains, "I have had such love." She does not mean her elderly wards' love for her—they are often cross or ungrateful—but rather hers for them. She is not confessing to neurotic possessiveness or biding for sainthood. She simply believes that loving is the whole point of life.

That poignant exchange is at the moral heart of *Marvin's Room*, an unflinching yet surprisingly funny play about illness, physical and mental, that opened off-Broadway this month after runs in Chicago and Hartford. Playwright Scott McPherson, 32, has an original voice, balanced between sentiment and surrealism, and a gift for creating characters who are more than the sum of their behavior. He also has AIDS, which gives him premature sensitivity about the importance of help and healing but imperils his talent just as it is emerging.

Bessie, the care giver, connects tenderly with her harsher sister's teenage sons, one a powder keg of anger who burned down his neighborhood, the other a bespectacled Milquetoast who perpetually retreats into a book. She also has a wonderful speech recalling her only romantic love, a carnival worker who drowned before her eyes when a partying crowd onshore mistook his des-

perate pleas for habitual clowning. Amid the grim reality, McPherson's characters take childlike delight in simple things and maintain a giggly sense of humor. Bessie's father Marvin, unseen but for his shadow through a glass-brick wall, has been dying for two decades—"real slow," Bessie explains with a hint of asperity, "so I don't miss anything." He still chuckles in glee on seeing beams of light bounce off a handheld mirror and play around the room. Bessie's sister, told she cannot smoke in a hospital, replies with steely illogic, "I'll be very quiet, then," and lights up. The daffy aunt, addicted to a soap opera, dresses to the nines for a character's wedding.

Director David Petrarca, who has staged the show in each of its venues, handles the shifts in tones with equal measures of delicacy and boldness. Laura Esterman, who has played Bessie since the beginning, nonetheless has an aura of uncalculated spontaneity in the hardest sort of role, a character of true goodness who is still approachable and fun. Mark Rosenthal and Karl Masehek as the boys, also cast since Chicago, have been ably joined by Lisa Emery as their mother and Alice Drummond as their dotty great-aunt.

For all the fun, the arc of the story is doom. It begins with Bessie's being tested for mysterious bruises that signal leukemia. It ends with her facing quick death, knowing she must abandon the father and aunt she has served so long and the nephews she has begun to help. The true tragedy, the most apt AIDS metaphor, is that the world needs more people like her and is about to have none.

Milestones

MARRIED. Richard Gere, 42, minimalist movie actor (*An Officer and a Gentleman*, *Pretty Woman*); and Cindy Crawford, 25, ubiquitous fashion model; both for the first time; in Las Vegas.

CONVICTED. Pascal Carpenter, Emiliano Fernandez, Johnny Hincapie and Ricardo Nova, all 19, of the murder of Brian Watkins, 22, a tourist from Utah who was stabbed to death on a Manhattan subway platform last year when he tried to defend his parents from the gang of thieves; in New York City. The crime strengthened the national perception of New York City as a locale haunted by anarchic crime. The four were convicted of murder and face maximum prison sentences of 25 years to life, since the killing occurred during a robbery in which they took part, although Yull Gary Morales, the man who police say actually stabbed Watkins in the heart, and three other defendants will not stand trial until next year.

DIED. Kimberly Bergalis, 23, the first person known to have been infected with AIDS as a result of being treated by a health-care worker who had the disease; of AIDS; in Fort Pierce, Fla. The Centers for Disease Control determined that Bergalis, a post-graduate student, contracted AIDS from David Acer, a bisexual dentist who continued to practice for more than two years after finding out he was infected. Four other patients contracted the virus from Acer, who apparently spread it through cuts on his hands by using unsterilized instruments or reusing disposable tools.

DIED. Headman Tshabalala, 44, a member of the South African vocal group Ladysmith Black Mambazo, which won international acclaim for its harmonizing on Paul Simon's 1986 *Graceland* album; shot to death after a roadside argument; in Pine-town, South Africa. The Grammy-winning group, whose songs describe life among black South Africans, has sold millions of recordings in its native land.

DIED. Berenice Abbott, 93, a pioneer of modern photography; in Monson, Me. After working as an assistant to Surrealist Man Ray in Paris in the early 1920s, Abbott opened a studio on the Left Bank and captured André Gide, James Joyce and other literary figures in incisive naturalistic portraits. In the late 1920s, Abbott purchased and preserved thousands of negatives and prints from the estate of the obscure French photographer Eugene Atget, whose tranquil realism influenced later generations of photographers. From Atget she got the idea of systematically documenting the modern metropolis through photographs. This she did brilliantly in *Changing New York*, published in 1939.

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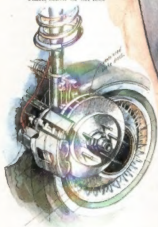


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Essay

Lance Morrow

When Artists Distort History



King Richard III was a monster. He poisoned his wife, stole the throne from his two young nephews and ordered them to be smothered in the Tower of London. Richard was a sort of Antichrist the King—"that bottled spider, that pois'nous bunch-back'd toad."

Anyway, that was Shakespeare's version. Shakespeare did what the playwright does: he turned history into a vivid, articulate, organized dream—repeatable nightly. He put the crouchback onstage, and sold tickets.

And who would say that the real Richard known to family and friends was not identical to Shakespeare's memorably loathsome creation? The actual Richard went dimming into the past and vanished. When all the eyewitnesses are gone, the artist's imagination begins to conjure.

Variations on the King Richard Effect are at work in Oliver Stone's *JFK*. *Richard III* was art, but it was propaganda too. Shakespeare took the details of his plot from Tudor historians who wanted to blacken Richard's name. Several centuries passed before other historians began to write about Richard's virtues and suggest that he may have been a victim of Tudor malice and what is the cleverest conspiracy of all: art.

JFK is a long and powerful harangue about the death of the man Stone keeps calling "the slain young king." What are the rules of Stone's game? Is Stone functioning as commercial entertainer? Propagandist? Documentary filmmaker? Historian? Journalist? Fantasist? Sensationalist? Paranoid conspiracy-monger? Lone hero crusading for the truth against a venal Establishment? Answer: some of the above.

The first superficial effect of *JFK* is to raise angry little scruples like welts in the conscience. Wouldn't it be absurd if a generation of younger Americans, with no memory of 1963, were to form their ideas about John Kennedy's assassination

from Oliver Stone's report of it? But worse things have happened—including, perhaps, the Warren Commission report.

Stone's movie and the Warren report are interestingly symmetrical: the Warren Commission was stolidly, one might say pathologically, unsuspicious, while in every scene of the Stone film conspiracy theories writhe underfoot like snakes. In a strange way, the two reports balance one another out. It may be ridiculous to accord Stone's movie a status coequal with the Warren report. On the other hand, the Warren report has endured through the years as a monolith of obscure suppression, a smooth tomb of denial. Stone's movie, for all its wild gesticulations, at least refreshes the memory and gets a long-cold curiosity and contempt glowing again.

The fecklessness of the Warren report somehow makes one less indignant about Stone's methods and the 500 kitchen sinks that he has heaved into his story. His technique is admirable as storytelling and now and then preposterous as historical inquiry. But why should the American people expect a moviemaker to assume responsibility for producing the last word on the Kennedy assassination when the government, historians and news media have all pursued the subject so imperfectly?

Stone uses a suspect, mongrel art form, and *JFK* raises the familiar ethical and historical problems of docudrama. But so what? Artists have always used public events as raw material, have taken history into their imaginations and transformed it. The fall of Troy vanished into the *Iliad*. The Battle of Borodino found its most memorable permanence in Tolstoy's imagining of it in *War and Peace*.

Especially in a world of insatiable electronic storytelling, real history procreates, endlessly conjuring new versions of itself. Public life has become a metaphysical breeder of fictions. Watergate became an almost continuous television miniseries—although it is interesting that the movie of Woodward and Bernstein's *All the President's Men* stayed close to the known facts and, unlike *JFK*, did not validate dark conjecture.

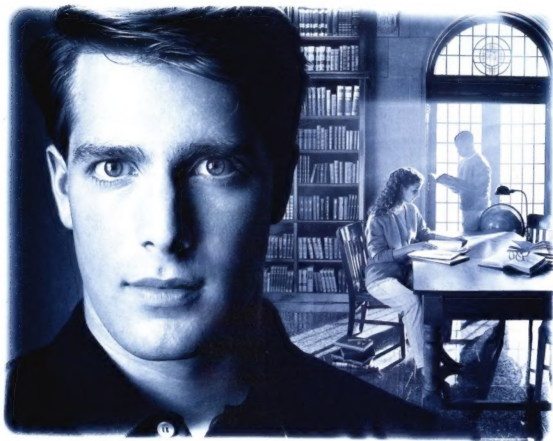
Some public figures have a story magic, and some do not. Richard Nixon possesses an indefinable, discomfited dark gleam that somehow fascinates. And John Kennedy, despite everything, still has the bright glamour that works best of all. Works, that is, except when the subject is his assassination. That may be a matter still too sacred, too raw and unassimilated. The long American passivity about the death in Dallas may be a sort of hypnosis—or a grief that hardened into a will not to know. Do not let daylight in upon magic.

Why is Stone's movie different from any other imaginative treatment of history? Is it because the assassination of John Kennedy was so traumatic, the baby boomers' End of Childhood? Or that Americans have enshrined it as official tragedy, a title that confers immunity from profane revisionists who would reopen the grave? Are artists and moviemakers by such logic enjoined from stories about the Holocaust? The Holocaust, of course, is known from the outset to be a satanic plot. For some reason—a native individualism, maybe—many Americans resist dark theories about J.F.K.'s death, and think those retailing them are peddling foreign, anarchist goods. Real Americans hate conspiracies as something unclean.

Perhaps the memory of the assassination is simply too fresh. An outraged movie like Stone's intrudes upon a semi-permanent mourning. Maybe the subject should be embargoed for some period of time, withheld from artists and entertainers, in the same way the Catholic Church once declined to consider sainthood until the person in question had been dead for 50 years.

No: better to opt for information and conjecture and the exhumation of all theories. Let a hundred flowers bloom, even if some of them are poisonous and paranoid. A culture is what it remembers, and what it knows.

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A full-page photograph of a cowboy on a horse in a snowy, mountainous landscape. The cowboy is wearing a light-colored cowboy hat, a brown vest over a light shirt, and dark chaps. He is holding the reins of a brown horse. The horse is also wearing a bridle and a yellow bell. The background shows snow-covered evergreen trees and a clear blue sky. The overall mood is peaceful and festive.

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